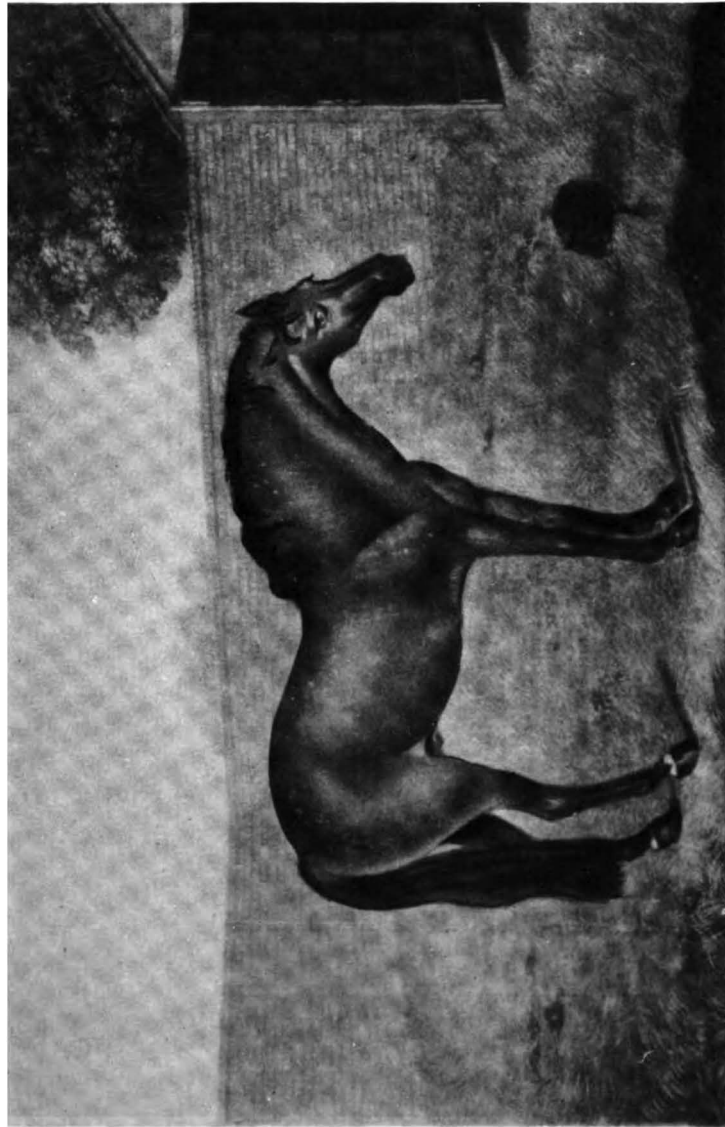


The John's Island Stud  
(South Carolina)  
1750-1788



PRIVATELY PRINTED  
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1931



B. M. P. 1852

J. C. P. 1852

The Stallion of the "Day" - Arabian, the Property of the Right Hon.<sup>ble</sup> the Earl of Godolphin &c.

This Extraordinary foreign Horse became a private  
 of Fine Horses of Just Temperament &  
 Shows the SIRE of Cath. Dismal, Cade, Biggset,  
 Newhall, Sultan, Blank, Mogg Noble, Turpin,  
 and several other Runners, besides Stallions and  
 COALING, SCOTLAND and  
 He made his first at Haggaggy Hills,  
 Ireland, &c. &c. &c.  
 Decem<sup>r</sup> 1753 in the 19 Year of his Age.

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## PREFACE

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**E**VERY successive student of the history of the thoroughbred horse in America has been tantalized by the fifteen printed pages devoted to 'Racing Memoranda from 1734 to the Revolution' in Dr. John B. Irving's classical *History of the Turf in South Carolina* (1857). These brief notes show that Dr. Irving had examined some of the available source material for this period and might have made it all as fully available as he did the equivalent material for the period 1792-1857. It remained, however, for Mr. John L. O'Connor to satisfy the need of the historian by having Dr. Irving's earliest footsteps systematically retraced and extended in time and space. In 1925, on a commission from him, Miss Elizabeth Jervey, of Charleston, identified and transcribed everything relating to the horse which was to be found in the extant S. Carolina newspapers from 1732 to 1800. The resulting record has proved eminently worth the effort of this new research.

When the Racing Calendar of provincial Carolina, so for the first time fully reproduced, is read with the contemporary advertisements of horses at stud, the first deduction is to add the name of Edward Fenwick (1720-1775) of South Carolina to those of John Carter (1696-1742) of Virginia, Benjamin Tasker, jr. (1715-1760) of Maryland, and James DeLancey (1732-1800) of New York, and thus complete a quartette of the Founders of the Turf in America.

Of these pioneer American importers of English blood stock, Fenwick is peculiarly interesting because he represented a distinguished tradition of racing in England. Carter and DeLancey acquired their taste for the turf by attendance at Newmarket, while members of Cambridge University, but, like the Maryland horseman, the Carolinian had his in his blood. He was a cadet of the Border house of Fenwick of Stanton in Northumberland, and so by inheritance one of the immemorably hard riding Netherby clan, 'Forsters, Fenwicks and Musgraves',

who on a familiar occasion pursued the Young Lochinvar across Cannobie Lee. William Fenwick (1722-1782) of Bywell, the fortunate owner of the mighty Matchem, was a contemporary kinsman of our Carolinian, and his turf prowess, recorded in extended detail by Heber, is still celebrated also by a north country folk refrain:

'Fenwick of Bywell's away to Newmarket  
Away to Newmarket, away to Newmarket  
Fenwick of Bywell's away to Newmarket  
And he will be there before we get started'.

In a previous generation the head of this family was that Sir John Fenwick (1579-1658) of Wallington, Stud Master to Charles I, and owner of the Fenwick Barb and his son Old Whynot, of whom the Duke of Newcastle said in his *New method . . . to dress Horses* (1667), that he

'had more Experience of Running Horses than any man in England; for he had more Rare Running Horses than all England besides, and the most part of all the Famous Running Horses in England that ran one against another were of his Race and Breed'.

This estimate of an early Fenwick horseman is significant in the present relation because, by reading South Carolina for England, it might justly have been applied to Edward Fenwick throughout that third quarter of the eighteenth century, which saw the establishment of the English 'bred' horse in America.

The significance of what Edward Fenwick did for his own community will be best brought home to those whose knowledge of turf history in Carolina rests on Dr. Irving's pleasant pages, by the statement that it was the John's Island Stud which laid the foundation of the early nineteenth century racing stable of William Alston; whence in turn derived the studs of John McPherson, Richard Singleton and, ultimately, the younger Wade Hampton. Unhappily, that breeding tradition did not survive the War between the States; but the influence of Mr. Fenwick's importations of the blood of the Godolphin Arabian

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persisted elsewhere. The evidence is that of the nine English horses which successively stood on John's Island, three certainly (Centinel, Shadow and Flimnap), and perhaps a fourth (Fallow), eventually found the way to what contemporaries called 'the race horse region' on the Roanoke River; and there made notable contributions to those American horse families which spread from Virginia to Kentucky and are still of significance, though now no longer 'fashionable'.

For these considerations it has seemed worth while to essay the critical study of the Fenwicks and their stud which is here presented.

Grateful acknowledgment of aid in the collection and interpretation of material is made to several friends: to Messrs. C. M. Prior, Walter Shaw Sparrow, E. E. Hutton and Reginald M. Glencross, in England; as also to Messrs. John L. O'Connor, Harry Worcester Smith, Alexander S. Salley, Victor Morawetz, D. E. Huger Smith, Nathaniel B. Barnwell, Guy E. Mauldin, Leonard Leland, Frank McCabe; and for aid in many ways to Miss Elizabeth Jervey and my Secretary, R. A. Jackson.

F. H.

*Belvoir, Fauquier County, Virginia,*  
Michaelmas, 1931.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

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*The Godolphin Arabian*, br. b. c. (1724?-1753).....*Frontispiece*

*From the engraving, dated 1753, by John Faber. (1695?-1756), the younger, after the portrait from life by David Morier (1704-1770).*

This is the most convincing of the 'portraits' of this great sire. See the discussion in *The Roanoke Stud*, 1930.

*Facing page*

*Lord Godolphin's Cade*, b. c. (1734-1756)..... 66

by the Godolphin Arabian out of Roxana by the Bald Galloway.

*From the portrait, from life, by James Seymour (1702-1752) in the collection of Ernest E. Hutton, Esq., at Bridge House, Eye, Suffolk.*

*Mr. Martindale's Regulus*, b. c. (1739-1765)..... 58

by the Godolphin Arabian out of Grey Robinson by the Bald Galloway.

*From the portrait, from life (1745), by James Seymour (1702-1752), in the collection of Ernest E. Hutton, Esq.*

*Mr. B. Rogers' Babraham*, b. c. (1740-1760)..... 76

by the Godolphin Arabian out of the Large Hartley Mare by Hartley's Blind Horse (son of the Holderness Turk).

The entry for Babraham in GSB (i, 99) notes that he was '16 hands'. Mr. Prior (*History of the Stud Book*, p. 117) observes that this 'is the only case we know of a horse's height being mentioned' in GSB. The tradition was derived from the contemporary stud cards of the horse, which were printed by Cheny, Pond and Heber. At the time, the height noted was extraordinary, being at least a hand above most of the contemporary racers.

*From a print published by Thomas Butler, 1751; one of the series which Heber first advertised for sale in his Calendar for 1754, p. 260. The inscriptions*

*on these prints are merely that the portraiture was 'taken from Life'; without naming either painter or engraver. In another advertisement (Heber 1757, p. 162) Butler himself announced that 'he and his Assistants designs, draws and paints . . . Horses, Dogs, etc., from life'.*

*Lord March's Bajazet*, b. c. (1740-post 1765)..... 92

by the Godolphin Arabian out of the elder of Sir J. Dutton's Whitefoot mares.

*From a print, published by Thomas Butler 1751, of the same series as that of Babraham, noted above.*

*The Duke of Ancaster's Blank*, b. c. (1740-1769)..... 70

by the Godolphin Arabian out of the Little Hartley Mare by Bartlett's Childers.

*From the mezzotint, dated May 1757, by R. Houston after the portraiture 'painted from life by Wm. Shaw'.*

This 'portraiture' is reproduced in Sir T. Cook's *History of the English Turf*, with a note that the original painting is in the collection of the late Earl of Rosebery at The Durdans, Epsom; but there is no identification of the artist there recorded. William Shaw is not to be found in the books of reference; but Mr. Walter Shaw Sparrow contributes the following note on him and his work:

'William Shaw is within the same bracket as Richard Roper, T. Pybourn, J. Ross, & several others; problems in research, and known, at present, very inadequately. By ill luck, Shaw has turned up at auctions, or at dealers, only in bad work of his first period, a bald and uncouth follower of Wootton, with a silly belief in the value of a recipe tree. Of his later work I know only two examples, the Blank, and a portrait of Imoinda [q. v. Pick, i, 318], painted in 1763, and now in the collection of Mr. E. E. Hutton.

'All that I know about Shaw's life comes from notes by Edward Edwards, A. R. A. (1738-1806), in catalogues of the Society of Artists (1760-'72), where 27 of his works were hung; that he had his studio in Mortimer street, Cavendish Square, London, near-by Wootton's old home in that Square; that (says Edwards) 'he built a large painting room, with conveniences to receive the animals from which he painted'; and so presumably had clients enough to keep him busy. He may have been brother to James Shaw [noted by Bryan] or a relative of some sort. J. S. had five portraits at the

Royal Academy (1776-1787); he came from Wolverhampton and studied under Edward Penny.

'Your very fine impression of Houston's mezzotint [of Shaw's Blank] sets me thinking of Wootton's large portrait of Childers at Chatsworth, perhaps the least Woottonish Wootton that I have yet seen. In this portrait of Blank there seems to be an amalgam of styles, in which Seymour's statuesque feeling for line and contour is present. The landscape, again, is a variation of one that appears in several pictures by Wootton (there is one at Longleat, for example), and also in a youthful portrait of Childers signed by Pybourne, which may, or which seems to, have been copied from a Wootton'.

*The Foundation stock of the Narragansett and Chickasaw horses* ..... 160

Types of the Barb and the Spanish horse of the Seventeenth Century, from engravings in the Duke of Newcastle's *New method to dress Horses* (1667).

*Fenwick Hall, John's Island, South Carolina*..... 54

*From photographs kindly made by the present owner of the property, Victor Morawetz, Esq., of New York.*

[A diligent but fruitless search has been made for the portrait, known to have been painted, of Edward Fenwick (1720-1775), the Founder of the John's Island Stud.]

*The five cuts here introduced into the Carolina Racing Calendar are reproductions of the 'chap book' illustrations printed in the now rare contemporary English Broad-sides which reported the results of York Races during the last half of the Eighteenth Century,*  
pp. 105, 109, 115, 130, 150

*Map of the Parishes of lower South Carolina*.....at end  
*drawn to illustrate the 'places of sport' in the eighteenth century.*

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# The John's Island Stud

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## CHAPTER ONE

### *The Carolina Fenwicks*

THE account of the origin of this family, which was formulated in 1726 by the elder brother of the two Fenwicks who emigrated to South Carolina, begins with the statement that :

'The name of Fenwick is one of the most ancient names of this time [1726] in England, for it has been an eminent gentleman's family in the county of Northumberland ever since the time of our Saxon Kings'.

More historically, the *Visitation of Northumberland* in 1615, followed and documented by John Hodgson in his *History of Northumberland* (1832) begins with a 'Thomas, dominus de Fenwick, miles, 4 Edw. II'; and, after tracing his descendants at Fenwick and Wallington, introduces us at the beginning of the sixteenth century to Ralph Fenwick, a cadet of Wallington who married the heiress of Corbett of Stanton and was High Sheriff of Northumberland, 1514, thereby founding the house of Fenwick of Stanton which eventually, on the death of the last Fenwick of Wallington in 1696, succeeded as head of the clan.

Of the eighth recorded generation of this cadet house was :

VIII. 1. *Edward Fenwick* (1606-1689) of Stanton, who m. Sarah, dau. of Francis Neville of Chete, and had three sons, viz: 2. Roger (1632-1658), 'killed at the siege of Dunkirk, being a colonel of horse'; 3. William (1633-1675), who succeeded to Stanton, and was there followed by his son Roger (fl. 1694-1701) and his grandson John (1699-*post* 1731) of Bywell; who in turn was the father of William (1722-1782) of Bywell, the noted turfman and owner of Matchem (Pick, i, 136); and 4. *Robert*, born 1646.

IX. 4. *Robert Fenwick* (1646-1693) was educated at Cambridge (Venn, *Alumni Cantab*), being intended for the church; but instead he married 'Anne, dau. of . . . Culcheth of Erd-



ington, a gentlewoman of that county [Cumberland], by whom he had a considerable fortune', and so was enabled to live out his life as a country gentleman. He died, says Hodgson, 'at Morpeth, 23 June 1693' and left him surviving, of his six sons, 5. *Edward*, 6. *Robert* and 7. *John*.

X. 5. *Edward Fenwick* (1670?-1737), third son of 4. Robert, was living in London in 1726, a retired East India merchant, when he supplied the genealogical link between Fenwick of Stanton and their descendants in Carolina. His statement (printed as an Appendix to the *Life of Commodore Tatt-nall*, Savannah, 1878) describes himself and his immediate family, as follows, the interpolations of names in square brackets being drawn from Hodgson, viz:

'My father, Robert Fenwick, was the next [third] son of my grandfather, Edward Fenwick [1606-1689, of Stanton]; so that he being a younger brother had no provision made for him out of the family estate, but he married a gentlewoman of that county by whom he had a considerable fortune. My father had eight children, and I was his third son, but my father dying when we were young, we were all obliged to seek our own fortunes as we grew up. My eldest brother [William] happened to be killed in a duel soon after he came to man's estate. My second brother [Culcheth] went into the army, a cornet in the horse service in the last wars, and he also happened to be so much wounded in the first engagement he was in, that he died soon after. I took my fortune another way and went into the East Indies, where I lived a merchant above eleven years, and where it pleased God to prosper my endeavors with a moderate fortune, with which about eight years ago [1718] I married very happily and settled here in London, where I have lived ever since; but I have no children of my own living; neither are there any of my father's children living but myself and my youngest brother, John Fenwick, who went into the West Indies about twenty years ago [1706], and has acquired a very good estate in South Carolina, where he now lives in a married state, and has four or five children. The two eldest of them, a son and a daughter, are now in England under my care'.

Hodgson records that 5. Edward Fenwick married, 1718, Elizabeth Frenchfield. That he died 1737 'of St. Andrews, Holborne, co. Middx.' and s. *p.*, leaving his property to his

brother 7. John 'of Charles Town in South Carolina, merchant', with remainder to his nephew 9. Edward appears also from his will, viz:

[P. C. C. *Wade*, 233]

*Edward Fenwicke*<sup>1</sup> of Bedford Row in parsh. of St. Andrew, Holbourne, co. Middx., Esq.

Will dated 28 Feb. 1736 and proved 24 Oct. 1737.

To my wife Elizabeth F. for life, all profits of my real estate, my jewels, & rest of personal estate; my library of books excepted (which are to be preserved for use of devisees of my real estate). On her death all my leaseholds in co. Middx. or city of London to be sold & then £2,000 to children of my late sister Dorothy Golightly, then living, equally. To my servant John Roberts £100 for faithful service. To Robert Fenwicke of Lincolns Inn, Esq., & Samuel Wragg of Fenchurch Street, London, merchant [See for this family in *Carolina SCHM*, xix, 121], £50 a piece. On my wife's death rest of personal estate to my brother John Fenwicke of Charles Town in South Carolina, merchant, for life & then to Edward Fenwicke, son of my sd. brother John & heirs of his body. All my freehold lands in co. Northumberland, etc., to my brother John for life, remainder to his son Edward F. in tail male of surname of Fenwicke; in default to Robert Fenwicke of Lincolns Inn, Esq., for life & then to heirs male of his body of surname of F.; remainder to my right heirs of surname of Fenwicke. As my surname & family are of great antiquity in co. Northd. my sd. real estate to continue in sd. name & family. Wife Elizabeth, Robert Fenwicke [of Lincoln's Inn] & S. Wragg to be extrix. & exors.

*Witns.* Jno. Hodgson of Gray's Inn, Elizabeth Spalding, Isabella Scott, servts. to Mr. Fenwicke.

<sup>1</sup> *The name*: When, in the seventeenth century, they generally learned to write for themselves, the Northumberland Fenwicks, like many other old English families, dropped the final 'e' which medieval clerks had arbitrarily added to their name, but which 'our Saxon Kings' had never known. This 5. Edward, who seems to have developed rather than inherited the kind of antiquarian tastes which persuade some people today to write, e. g., 'ye' for 'the', nevertheless revived that appendage, and the Carolina Fenwicks usually followed his lead. As Hodgson, the family chronicler, wrote with the authority of the most ancient muniments as well as English usage of the nineteenth century and uniformly spelled 'Fenwick' (as did Sir Walter Scott), we have followed him.

The Duke of Newcastle, and some others, in the seventeenth century spelled the name 'Fennick', as it is still uniformly pronounced; except by the John's Island negroes, who have by tradition translated it into 'Phoenix'. This is interesting as an unconscious echo of the medieval canting heralds; for the family crest is a phoenix.

X. 6. *Robert Fenwick* (1671?-1725), fifth son of 4. Robert, was the first of his family to appear in Carolina. The circumstances of his immigration were so unusual that it seems worth while to call the contemporary records (*Journal of the Grand Council of S. Carolina*, ed. Salley, 1907), even at some length, to bear witness.

One day in April, 1692, an unknown ship came into Charles Town harbour and dropped anchor in Rebellion Roads behind Sullivan's Island. After several days had passed without any move, by the ship to 'enter' herself, and the times being 'dangerous and troublesome', Governor Ludwell and the Council ascertained that the stranger was under the command of one George Rayner (a name well known in the New York annals of the time), and summoned him to 'enter' or depart the port. Whereupon Capt. Rayner put to sea; but after several days it was reported that he was 'hovering' nearby. As several merchantmen were ready to sail and knew not what to expect from these proceedings, the Governor sent another summons and Rayner disappeared. Then came the news that the stranger was stranded in Seewee Bay, near Bull's Island, stripped of all her contents and furniture and that the crew had scattered among the inhabitants. In this situation the Council, sitting as a court of Admiralty, condemned the ship, now ascertained to be named *Loyal Jamaica* and to have been owned in Port Royal, Jamaica; sold her as a wreck, and then proceeded to round up such of the crew as had not made off and bind them by recognizance not to leave the province for a year, or until the authorities might be instructed from England what to do with them. Twenty-two men were found and duly gave bond. McCrady (i, 259) published the list and justly remarked that it included 'some of the most honoured names in South Carolina'. One was this Robert Fenwick. He procured no less a person than Sir Nathaniel Johnson to go on his £60 bond; but in the middle of the torrid Carolina summer he seems to have decided that those of his ship mates who had escaped 'to the northward' had chosen

the better part; and that it was worth the forfeiture of that bond to follow them. The following Order in Council of September 15, 1692, tells how the plan was thwarted:

'Whereas a privateer ship did arrive here in or about April last and a certain number of the men belonging to her came on shore here and did all of them enter into recognizances to our Sovereign Lord & Lady the King & Queen not to depart this province till we could hear from England or for one year after the date of the said recognizances; and

'Whereas we are certainly informed by divers persons as also by the confession of Robert Fenwick, one of the said ship's company, that he the said Robert Fenwick and Richard Newton, another of the said ship's company, being chirurgeon of the said ship, not regarding their bonds to the King &c, did covertly attempt to make an escape out of this country, about the latter end of August last or the beginning of this present September, in the sloop *Dolphin*, William Day, commander, bound to New York; and after ten or twelve [days] being at sea were forced by contrary winds and distress of weather into this port again;

'For which high contempt against their Majesties' authority and the lawful government of the Lords Proprietors of this province this Court does order that the said Robert Fenwick do remain in the custody of the Provost Marshal until he enter into a recognizance to their Majesties of 500 l with such able and sufficient securities as the court shall approve in 250 l each that he shall not depart out of this part of the Province that lies south and west of Cape Fear for one whole year, or till we hear from England; beginning from the date of his former recognizance; and for his good behavior to all their Majesties' subjects in the mean time; and that he appear whenever he be required by the government within said time to try, hear and determine all criminal causes'.

Thereafter 6. Robert settled down and became a citizen of Carolina. The next record we have of him is as the grantee in 1694 of certain lots in Charles Town (SCHM, ix, 12).

That the crew of the *Loyal Jamaica* were what was known in America at the time as 'Red Sea men' there can be no reasonable doubt since the publication of the Council Journal of 1692. The charge was first bruited in 1696 by Edward Randolph, H. M. Surveyor General of Customs in America, whose highly coloured reports made him the *bête noir* of all the colonial governors of his day and the delight of the subse-

quent historian. Randolph's duty was to endeavor to enforce the obnoxious Navigation Law and his experience (like that of those who seek to enforce a later 'moral' prohibition law) persuaded him that all Americans were pirates. Of the crew of the *Loyal Jamaica* he said (A&WI, 1696-97, p. 73):

'About three years ago seventy pirates who ran away with a vessel from Jamaica came to Charles Town with a vast quantity of gold from the Red Sea. They were entertained and had liberty to stay or go to any other place. The vessel was seized by the Governor for the Proprietors as a wreck and sold without regard to the acts of Trade'.

Being sensitive about Carolina's early 'historical' reputation of having truck with pirates, McCrady (i, 250 ff.) devoted a dozen pages to an eloquent argument to refute this particular identification. He suggested that the *Loyal Jamaica* was a licensed privateer which had sailed from Jamaica against the French, on warlike but lawful occasions; that all those of her crew who gave bond and later established themselves in Carolina 'were merely passengers'. Against this, the local record tells a tale which matches up in several circumstances with the official records of other colonies.

In a report formulated by the East India Company in 1696 (A&WI, 1696-97, No. 517; 1697-98, No. 279) there is an informing résumé of the activities of the 'Red Sea men'. For highly coloured detail there should be read with it the deposition of Samuel Perkins, a Boston lad of good family (*ibid.*, 1697-98, No. 771). Here it appears that these adventurers, though including hardened sinners and 'broken' men, were in the majority youngsters drawn from all the British colonies in America, who went to sea with the deliberate purpose of raising a capital for future peaceful occupations by preying on the native traders in the Indian Ocean. They did not consider themselves 'pirates' because they did not attack Christians. Those of them who came of English 'county' families, like young Fenwick, may well have remembered the precedent of crusading ancestors who had been justified by posterity for

spoiling the 'foul paynim'; but their trade was quite as much of a nuisance to legitimate 'big business', and at least as profitable to the adventurers (frequently every member of a crew came home with £1000 or £1500 sterling to his share) as if it had been technical piracy. It was a 'gold rush', and all the Governors in America testified to the futility of their efforts to check it. Thus Lord Bellomont said:

'The vast riches of the Red Sea men and Madagasca are such a lure to seamen that there is almost no withholding them'.

Nicholson, then in Maryland (A&WI, 1693-96, No. 1916) went into detail:

'The Red Sea men come home first to Providence [Bahamas] and to S. Carolina, where they leave or dispose of their ships and from thence disperse to the northward in small vessels. Their sharing of such large sums tempts the people of these parts to go along with them and they deplete the crews of both merchants' and Kings' ships'.

With this last text may profitably be compared the details of the abandonment of the *Loyal Jamaica* and the scattering of her crew as rehearsed above: perhaps it had specific reference to that very case. But the Charles Town records go further in specification. A deposition by Richard Abram, one of the 'passengers' in McCrady's list, averred without circumlocution that

'he had sailed all along with said Rayner in said ship and had been in her at the taking of several vessels as by his examination upon record will more at large appear'.

Another deposition was, however, even more interesting as a picture of life on the *Loyal Jamaica* on her voyage home from the east. It reads like a *Bab Ballad*; and supplies the explanation of the 'privateer's' mysterious behaviour when she first appeared in Charles Town harbour, that she was debating what she should do next:

'The deposition of Peter Skroder, a Dane by nation, aged twenty-four years or thereabouts taken this twentieth day of April, 1692, declares that on the twenty-ninth day of January last he the said deponent, in company with Cent Direckson [being castaways], did see a sail off the Island of Assencion, on which they made a sign with two white shirts; upon which the vessel come near who had also business there, as they understood, to turn turtle for provisions; and they desired the ship to take them on board and carry and put them on shore; and they answered it was a Christian work and they would do it and would either put them on some Christian shore or on board some Christian ship; and after about twenty-four hours stay at Assencion they set sail directly hither. That in the latitude of Surinam they met with a vessel under Dutch colours mounted with six guns or thereabouts which they willingly would have spoken with, to have put the deponent on board of the ship and to have gotten some relief of liquors and provisions from them, but the Dutchman avoided them and firing a shot through their sails they were afraid of them and so forebore the chase; and sailing into the latitude of this place the question being put among themselves whither they should go, *it was their general resolution to come in here to settle as planters and buy plantations.* And this deponent further sayeth that they kept very good order with daily prayers, peaceable behaviour, and that they did often discourse and aver that they never had done wrong to any Christian nation. That in their passage from Assencion they did touch at an Island called Ferdinando [de Norronha] to water, and did touch nowhere nor speak with any sail till they came near this Bar save only the aforesaid Dutch ship; and the first ship they saw on this coast was the *Richard & Mary*, Daniel Bradley, Commander, bound in hither from England. And further this deponent saith not.

'Cent Direckson being examined doth also declare to the same effect with this above deposition.

*'Coram Nobis*

Thomas Smith,  
Joseph Blake'.

On all this evidence we may fairly adjudge the 'passengers' of the *Loyal Jamaica* to have been 'Red Sea men' who acted on their resolution 'to come in and settle as planters and buy plantations'. That they invested their 'sequins and elephants' teeth' to good advantage and that some of them founded families in the Carolina community the subsequent career of Robert Fenwick serves to bear witness.

In 1701 Robert Fenwick was a member of the Commons House of the province, and (curiously enough in relation to the present study) then introduced a bill (*Statutes*, ii, 164) to tax Virginia horses imported into Carolina. This legislation has since attracted the attention of several historians of the horse, who have deduced from it a judgment that in 1700 Carolina was drawing her horse stock from Virginia (See p. 172). Among others, Logan, with some gusto of sectionalism, interpreted it as an early and enlightened condemnation of Virginia's self-complacency in breeding practice; but Crane (*Southern Frontier*, p. 155) has since shown that the act was no more than an ingenious move to hamper Virginia's competitive pack horse trade with the Catawba Indians, and was ineffective at that.

The act of 1701 serves in any event to indicate that Robert Fenwick had turned his interest to the peltry trade; and that deduction is fortified by the act of 1707 (*Statutes*, ii, 309, 315) which first undertook to regulate that trade. Among the nine commissioners named in the act of 1707 is 'Mr. Robert Fenwick', a colleague but senior to the officially growing 'Major John Fenwick' we are next to meet.

Thereafter there is no further extant record of 6. Robert until we come upon his will, which proves his place in this pedigree, viz:

[*Charles Town Probate Court*, W. B. 1671-1727, p. 266].

*Robert Fenwick* of Berkley county and Christ Church Parish in the province of South Carolina.

Will dated 8 February, 1722/3; proved 17 December, 1726.

After a pious preamble, expressing confidence that his sincere repentance will justify divine forgiveness of his sins:

'I order and appoint that Thirty pounds Stirling be remitted to my loving brother John Fenwick in Morpeth in Northumberland for so much advanced by him to my father when living'.

'Esteeming the estates here very precarious and uncertain', and expressing confidence that his 'dear and well beloved wife Sarah Fenwick' [who, it appears elsewhere, was born Patey, a family of consideration early seated in Carolina] will use 'her utmost care and zeal to promote



those charitable and pious works, and at her death to advance towards the same as much as possible, which are principally intended and designed hereby'; appoints her sole executrix and devises and bequeaths to her all other property real and personal, naming specifically negroes Judy and Sam and their 'posterity' and the 'posterity' also of 'Kate formerly belonging to my wife and sold to Mr. Charles Hill'.

*Witnesses:* David Scannel, Martha Logan (wife of George Logan Esq.), Hellen Logan, Edward Clerk, Francis Wood, John Vander Horst, John Mortimer, Sen.

That 6. Robert left no children appears not only from the entries to that effect by 5. Edward and Hodgson, but from his widow's will, dated January 26, 1726/7, and proved in Carolina, September 21, 1727 (SCHM, xiv, 5); by which, after legacies to certain great nephews, she gave Margaret Clapp £500, two negroes, and 'Mr. Fenwick's silver seal with the coat of arms of his family on it'.

X. 7. *John Fenwick* (1675?-1747), sixth son of 4. Robert, did not record the date or manner of his immigration to America. The moving cause of his coming may well have been a summons from 6. Robert; certainly he first established himself in Christ Church parish where the will of 6. Robert shows that that elder brother was resident; and as to date, the 'about' 1706 of the statement of 5. Edward checks with the earliest records of him in Carolina; for there has survived a warrant issued to 'John Fenwicke' of date March 1, 1704/5, for 500 acres of land on Santee River adjoining another tract which he then already owned; and it was in the summer of 1706 that, having then been established in the colony long enough to have become a Captain of militia, he there had his crowded hour.

It is only recently that Crane (*Southern Frontier*) has read in large historical perspective the story of the imperial challenge the infant Carolina colony gave to both Spain and France throughout the wide territory which DeSoto had traversed, by those early thrusts around the southern end of the Appalachian protaxis which brought her to the Mississippi river before 1700; and has justly compared the political effects of that com-

mercial exploration with the similar movement of the French up the valley of the St. Lawrence, which Parkman's romantic pen has made long familiar to Americans.

Carolina had previously had a series of 'wars of kites and crows' with the Spaniards at St. Augustine, but it was only after she had extended her inland trade to the Creeks and Chickasaws and thereby moved France, in retaliation, to establish herself on the lower Mississippi and at Mobile that these rivalries rose in dignity and became truly international.

John Fenwick thus had the fortune to play a modest part in one of the earliest major incidents of that thenceforth continental 'French and Indian War' which is the key to the history of the English colonies in America.

The story of the repulse of the French and Spanish 'armada' which attacked Charles Town in August, 1706, the first of the three such great events in the history of Carolina, has been often told. Each historian has paraphrased but none has improved upon the 'Impartial Narrative of the late Invasion of S. Carolina' which was formulated immediately after the event to be sent around to the governors of all the English colonies in America and so eventually found its way into the Public Record Office in London (A&WI, 1706-1708, No. 517, i, p. 248). We shall therefore quote from that record.

In 1702 and again in 1703 Carolina had invaded Florida and the Spaniards were eager for revenge. When, in the summer of 1706, a pest of yellow fever afflicted Carolina, and the news reached Havana at the same time with the appearance in that harbour of 'Monsr. LeFeboure, commander of a private man of warr [and] four other privateer ships', the Governor of Cuba saw in this conjunction his opportunity and, hoping to find the English colony in confusion, planned with the willing Frenchman a joint attack. A warning was brought to Charles Town by Peter Stool, a New York privateer who 'had not been arrived scarce above one hour, and not done relating this news before we discovered from the town 5 smokes on Sullivane's Island which signified that so many vessels were

by that look out seen at sea'. Happily, Carolina was prepared and under the inspiring leadership of the Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the people were resolute for defense. After a week of alarums and excursions, without coming to grips, the spirited *Narrative* proceeds:

[August 30] Two hours before day news was brought by a negro from [Wards] Neck [Christ Church parish] that the enemy, consisting of about 160 men, had been on shoar all that night, had kill'd a great many cattle, fowls and other stock, and were securely feasting and making merry, whereupon the Governor immediately commanded Capt. [John] Fenwick with his company together with a detachmt. out of the companys of Capt. Lynch and Capt. Canty, about 106 men in all under Capts. Fenwick and Canty, to pass over to the Neck to cut off the enemy. Undiscovered they landed at Hobcau, and Capt. Fenwick leaving about 10 men to guard the boats, advanced in pursuite, sending 2 soldiers and half a score nimble Indians as scoutts before him, and having march't about 5 mile mett the aforesaid scouts returning with accot. that they had seen the enemy at Rowzer's plantation being then distant but half a mile from them, whereupon Capt. Fenwick wth. speed and silence advanced towards them, and being come up to the fence of the Plantation where they were undiscovered, spread themselves in order to surround them, but the enemy perceiving them, and being but a party of the main body, immediately retreated receiving our fire without any return on their side, wee pursueing them came up to Gill's Plantation half a mile distant from Rowzer's, where the enemy meeting another party of their own men ralied and faced us, disputing the ground for some time and exchanging severall vollies, but huzaing and rushing on them, they gave ground, and in great disorder fled to their main body which were at Hartman's Plantation about a mile further. In this action wee killed them 6 men, wounded 4 and took 2 prisoners, with the loss only of one man, and Capt. Fenwick pursueing this good beginning and the flying enemy, came up to Hartman's Plantation, where their whole strength consisting of about 130 men were drawn up in order of battle in the middle of the pasture, being a large open feild of about 150 acres of ground, seeming resolv'd to engage us, whereupon Capt. Fenwick and Capt. Canty likewise drew up their men full of eagerness and desire at sight of the enemy to fall on them, and advancing within half musquett shott poured in their volley [which] the enemy sustein'd and return'd theirs, but seeing our men running on huzaing with a desperate resolution to engage them closer, they immediately quitt the feild and fled away in great disorder and confusion, but being prevented from heading

the creek, the greatest part of them fell into our hands and begging quarters were made prisoners of warr, others attempting to escape by swimming the creek were drowned. In the whole loss sustained by the enemy there were 9 killed, 7 wounded, about 7 lost in the creek and 33 prisoners taken, with the loss only of one man on our side, so that of about 130 men, there returned but 60 to the ships or thereabouts, the rest being either killed or taken prisoners, with which good success Capt. Fenwick and Capt. Canty with their men and prisoners returned to the Town by 11 of the clock . . .

[September 1] At night John Abraham Motte commanding a pad round the Neck, sent an express to the Governor acquainting him that a vessell was seen rydeing at an anchor in See-wee Bay, who were landing a great many men, whereupon the Governor concluding this vessell to be [the] ship which the prisoners told us the enemy expected, wherein was Monsr. Arbousett, their Land Generall and severall officers and abt. 180 or 200 men, resolved to take her and accordingly the next morning [Sept. 2nd] commanded Capt. Fenwick with his company to join Mr. Mott's pad round and together by land march to See-wee Bay to anoy the enemy and intercept their landing, and intending also to attack her by sea, appointed the *Seaflower* and the aforementioned [Captain Stool's] privateer sloop for that expedition under Lt.-Col. Rhett. Orders were accordingly given Col. Risbye to put on board a number of men; the *Seaflower* was forthwith maned, but severall gentlemen and others who were willing to share in the danger and honour of that design, but desirous of the company of Col. Risbye, the Governor at his earnest request permitted him with Capt. Evans and his Company to goe on board the privateer sloop. That morning both sloops sailed over the Barr, and made the best of their way for See-wee Bay, but there being little wind, they came to anchor that night off [Rebellion Road].

[September 3] Capt. Fenwick and Mr. Motte had notice that abt. 200 of the enemy were landed and ashoar at Mr. Hollybus his Plantation, upon which they immediately marched towards them, endeavoring to cutt them from their boats; they found them in an open plantation advantageously posted, but runing up to them boldly huzaing and firing they durst not sustein the charge, for seeing severall of their men fall, the rest cryed out for quarters, there was abt. 12 or 14 of them killed and wounded and about 60 prisoners, among whom the men of note were Capt. Pasquereau, Commander of the ship, Capt. John Baptist, with 4 more officers, without the loss of one man on our side. Capt. Fenwick and Mr. Mott returned that night, and the prisoners the day following.

The 2 sloops early the same morning [Sept. 3] putt under saile crowding for See-wee Bay, when between 2 and 3 a clock in the afternoon the *Seaflower* being about a league ahead, on a suddain tack'd

towards the Privateer, acquainting Col. Risbye that they had seen the ship ryding at anchor in the Bay with the yards and topmasts down. It was agreed that the privateer heading the van should board the enemy on the quarter and the *Seaflower* on the bow; in which order with a resolute cheerfullness both of sailors and souldiers wee bore up the helme, when comeing up with the ship and just ready to lay her on board, she strok [her standard elsewhere described as of 'white sarsenet having the French and Spanish arms at each corner and a green crosse in the middle, and with this motto *Par le signe de cette crois, vaincre ou mourir pour les deux Rois*'], cryed for quarters, surrendered their ship, and yielded themselves prisoners, having 4 guns then mounted and loaden and between 80 and 90 able men, among whom was M. Arbousett and several other officers.

On the 6th the sloops with their prize returned to Charles Town, where the great guns from the Batteries and the shouts and acclamations of all the people proclaimed their wellcome. We have now in all about 230 prisoners, French and Spaniards, and about 90 or 100 Indians, which they brought with them.

As John Fenwick thus bore, with evident address as well as great good fortune, the brunt of the active fighting during the adventure which introduced him to Carolina, his reputation as a man of action was at once established, and in consequence he remained a part of the military establishment of the province until the end of his colonial career.

In 1707 we find him, as already noted, included in the commission to regulate the Indian trade, with the title of Major (*Statutes*, ii, 309, 315). In 1712 Governor Craven proposed him, then Colonel (*Journal Commons House of Assembly*, August 8, 1712; SCHM, x, 44), for the command of the second punitive expedition against the Tuscarora Indians; this was an unpleasant duty and Fenwick seems to have avoided it; with the consequence that the bloody work was done (and well done) by James Moore, son of the leader of the unsuccessful expedition against St. Augustine in 1702, who thus restored his family's prestige.

In 1715 during the Yamasee war, Fenwick was in command of the garrison left in Charles Town while Governor Craven himself took the field. At the end of that exciting

summer he had, however, another opportunity to show again how he could organize success. The incident was so small as to escape the eye even of the local historian, but is well documented nevertheless.

When, in July, Governor Craven made his counter march from the Santee to the Edisto to repel an invasion from that quarter and arrived too late to engage the indian enemy, we are told (McCrady, i, 547) that the main army of the Yamasees and their allies had retired west by (what Carolina knew as) the Chickasaw Path to Savanna Town, burning Ponpon bridge as they crossed the Edisto; but that for several weeks small parties continued to plunder the plantations 'to the southward'. According to a letter written from Charles Town at the time (A&WI, 1714-15, No. 642, p. 296) it was then that

'Colo. Fenwick, understanding that the Indians were at Combhee burning and destroying the plantations, marched up to Ponpon Bridge, and after having mended the same marched a party towards Combhee; and having advice that the Indians were at one Jackson's house near the ferry he fell upon them next morning by break of day and out of 16 he killed 9 and took 2 prisoners, with the loss of one white man, and one negro wounded. He also took 4 of their periaugers loaded with provisions and plunder'

and drove others down stream to be captured by Captain Stone, whom he had posted for that purpose at the mouth of the Combahee.

Thereafter he sat diligently in the Assembly and so had the honour to be a member of the Convention of 1719, which accomplished South Carolina's first Revolution and overthrew the Proprietary government. In evidence of his participation in this achievement a bold signature, 'Jn<sup>r</sup> Fenwicke', has been transmitted to posterity on a legislative paper of that climacteric year; which, the muniment of an early Declaration of Independence, is reproduced in facsimile in modern local school books. That this adventure in rebellion did not however prejudice Fenwick's reputation in England appears from the fact

that in 1721 he was included, as Associate Justice, in a special Crown commission to try pirates (McCrady, ii, 802).

During the ensuing decade there is a caesura in the record of his official activities. The explanation is not forthcoming; for, although the incidental testimony of the will of his brother Robert is that in February, 1722/3, he was in England, he had not abandoned Carolina. The register of St. Philip's Parish, Charles Town, shows him baptising children in the province in 1723 and 1724 and the statement of his brother Edward was that he was in America in 1726. In 1730 when Robert Johnson (son of Sir Nathaniel) was sent out as Royal Governor he was available for inclusion in the first Council of the province nominated by the Crown (*Acts P. C.*, Colonial, 1720-45, p. 837); and thereafter his political record is again continuous. During this period he may be seen constantly in the Council, steadily improving his rank by seniority until in 1742 he sat next to the President; and serving also as one of the lay judges of the provincial court.

In June, 1740, Col. Fenwick, then an elder statesman, was gazetted Major General in command of all the provincial militia; and it was in that capacity that he made the address of welcome to the Carolina regiment on their return from Oglethorpe's mortifying failure before St. Augustine. McCrady (ii, 229) adjudged this speech to have been extravagant, but the survival of it is welcome because it pleasantly reveals Fenwick as a reader of Plutarch. He is reported to have said to Col. Van der Dussen:

'The Romans for one life saved gave the *corona civica*: to you who have saved a regiment this House tenders all it can bestow, a public acknowledgment of your merit'.

On the bread and butter side, 7. John seems to have prospered greatly as a merchant in the rice trade; and in time became himself a planter in the 'freshes' of Ashepoo, where he established the 'Old Place' named in his son's will. To 'the northward' also, on Black River, he acquired rice lands; but

his plantation residence was on the tidewater of Stono, where his son later maintained his stud. Here the records show him seated as early as 1717 (the date suggests that the land may have been the portion of his wife, for John's Island was a Gibbes bailiwick long before the name Fenwick was known there), and here, in 1730, he replaced a log plantation house with the 'Fenwick Hall' which has survived as one of the testimonies to the architectural good taste of the early Carolina community.

John Fenwick did not, however, live out his life at Fenwick Hall. Several years before he made his will in February, 1745/6, he did what his elder brother Edward had done in similar circumstances, and what reveals him to have been a British colonial in the tradition we know today when the world is smaller and distances are less. He was no Henry Esmond seeking in the wilderness a definite refuge from memories of civilization: he never cut his family ties with home, as did the immigrant ancestors of most American families. When the time came, he recrossed the Atlantic to 'retire', just as he had crossed it originally to make his fortune. Therein he left a legacy of tradition for which his grandsons paid heavily.

At the end of his life John Fenwick styled himself 'of the Province of South Carolina but now of St. George's, Hanover Square, co. Middlesex'. His will was as follows:

[PCC *Potter*, 176; Waters' transcript in SCHM, vii, 27]

*John Fenwick* of Province of South Carolina but now of St. George's, Hanover Square, County Middlesex.

Will 27 February 1745-6; proved 23 July 1747 and 2 November 1749.

To my son in law Isaac Whittington Esquire £50. To my *kinsman* Robert Fenwick of Lincoln's Inn [who had also been named in the will of 5. Edward] a mourning ring. I am desirous that my estate in South Carolina, although decreased in value owing to the war with France and Spain, should remain whole and intire to my son Edward who now lives upon it, he to pay to my daughters the sums hereinafter mentioned out of the money estate he will be entitled to after my decease, by the will of my late Brother Edward Fenwicke Esquire. To my daughter



Deloraine £1000 over and above what I have given her and her late husband, £100 for mourning, my coach and horses. To my daughter Sarah £2000, £100 for mourning, all bedding, linen and household furniture I shall have in London at my decease except my large round silver tea table which I give to my son Edward, on condition he is willing that my daughter Deloraine shall have as her own property, the silver tea table I gave her on her last coming from Carolina, which belonged to my Brother's estate. To my son Edward Fenwicke all the rest of my estate, real and personal. Executors: Daughter Deloraine, son in law Whittington, son Edward. Witnesses: Thos. Compton, Thomas Adams, Elizabeth Compton, Thos. Compton and Mrs. Compton of Audley Street, St. George Parish, Thos. Adams, Servant to Lady Deloraine.

*Codicil* same day, same witnesses: I also give to my Brother in law Coll. John Gibbes and Andrew Rutledge Esq. both of South Carolina £100 money of South Carolina.

*Second Codicil* (no date, no witnesses). To my Brother in law Coll. John Gibbes, Andrew Rutledge Esq. and my nephew Culcheth Golightly of South Carolina £100 money of said Province. To my nephew John Gibbes, son of my late Brother in Law, William Gibbes, £200 of South Carolina. To daughter Deloraine and Daughter Sally, and then to grandson John Scott, £500, same to be placed in New South Sea Stock in daughter Deloraine's name, in trust for said grandson till he is 21. To my daughter Sarah two negro women called Hannah and Rachel and one girl called Daphney all in possession of said Edward in Carolina.

Oathes of George Newly of St. Clement Danes, Silvia Brathwaite of St. Georges, Hanover Square, Andrew Pringle of St. Margaret Pattens, merchant, and Right Honourable Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Deloraine.

'This will was proved at London (with two codicils annexed) before the worshipfull Richard Smalbroke etc. the 23 day of July 1747, by the oath of the Right Honorable Elizabeth Countess Dowager of Deloraine the daughter of the deceased, and one of the executors named in the said will, to whom was granted administration of all and singular the goods and chattels and credits of the said deceased, being first sworn duly to administer. Power reserved of making the like grant to Isaac Whittington and Edward Fenwicke, Esquires, the other executors, therein named when they or either of them shall apply for the same.'

'The said will was also proved at London (with the said two codicils annexed) 2 November 1749 by the oath of Edward Fenwicke Esqr. another of the Executors named in the said will to whom administration was granted being first sworn to administer. Power reserved of making the like grant to Isaac Whittington Esqr, the other executor named in the said will, when he shall apply for same.'

This 7. *John Fenwick* m. Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Gibbes (1644-1715) of a Devonshire family, who came early to Carolina from Barbadoes and there at once assumed a leading position as Proprietor's Deputy [i. e., of the Council] and eventually acting Governor (SCHM, xii, 78). By her (who was, significantly, of kin to the wife of 6. Robert, SCHM, xiv, 4, 16) he had 8. Elizabeth, who was in England in 1726 under the care of 5. Edward, but returned to Carolina, for it was at Charles Town in August, 1734, that she married Henry Scott (1712-1740), Captain of H. M. S. *Seaford*, then on that station; a grandson of Charles II's natural son James, Duke of Monmouth, by his marriage with Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch. In 1739 Captain Scott succeeded his elder brother as third earl of Deloraine of the creation of 1706, and, dying the following year, left his widow to survive him 54 years; for Elizabeth Fenwick, Countess of Deloraine, did not die until 1794 (G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, s. v. Deloraine); 9. *Edward*, born 1720; a son John, 1723, and a daughter Ann, 1724, whose baptisms are recorded in the parish register of St. Philip's Parish, Charles Town, and thus check the statement of 5. Edward that in 1726 there were in being four or five children. Neither John nor Ann is named in their father's will, and it seems to follow that both were dead before 1746; but Ann must have been the daughter who had, before 1746, m. Isaac Whittington (the 'son-in-law' named in the will of 7. John) of Orford House in Ugley, co. Essex, and one of the Six Clerks after whom the six series of Chancery Proceedings are named (Morant, *Essex*, ii, 618). If so, Ann left an only daughter, Elizabeth (named for her maternal grandmother?), who m. 1755 at St. George's, Hanover Square, London (Parish Register, *Harl. Soc. Pubs.*), Thomas Drake, clerk-in-orders, and died before her father, leaving the daughters who are named in the will of Isaac Whittington, dated 1772 and proved 1773 (P. C. C. *Stevens*, 230), as 'my granddaughters, children of Doctor Drake', then the only surviving representatives of Whittington's immediate family. Finally,

10. Sarah, bapt. in St. Philip's, 1726, named in her father's will; and m., 1757, Captain John Stuart (1710?-1779), the Highland soldier of fortune who came to America with Oglethorpe in 1733, and while doing frontier duty with Oglethorpe's regiment established such confidential relations with the southern indians that he was enabled to set himself up in Charles Town as a successful merchant in the indian trade; and eventually (1762) to be appointed H. M. Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department.<sup>2</sup>

XI. 9. *Edward Fenwick* (1720-1775), only surviving son of 7. John, and founder of the John's Island Stud, makes his appearance on this record as a child in London, in charge of his uncle 5. Edward. His father's will described him in Feb-

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<sup>2</sup> *The Stuart Marriage*: Primary genealogical evidence for the identification of the wife of John Stuart as Sarah, daughter of 7. John Fenwick has not been discovered; but the available secondary evidence is convincing of the fact. The source of all the historians who have mentioned Stuart (Sabine, McCrady, Siebert, etc.) is the notes collected by Dr. Joseph Johnson in his *Traditions*. Dr. Johnson is here credible not only because he derived his material direct from the Stuart family (i. e., from John A. Stuart of Beaufort, S. C., a grandson of Capt. John Stuart's younger brother, Francis) but because he is tested as to many details by such primary evidence for the Stuart family as may be found elsewhere, viz: the references to Capt. John Stuart in *Acts P. C.*, Colonial, and other political papers in the Public Record Office; his will, dated 1776; the Stuart family Loyalist Memorial of 1783 (New York Public Library Transcripts, vol. 56, p. 234), and the will of Capt. Stuart's son Sir John (1757-1815), the Carolina born guardsman who died a lieutenant general in the British army, having been knighted for brilliant service in the Napoleonic wars (See DNB).

The statement of Dr. Johnson is that John Stuart 'married Miss Fenwick, a lady of one of the first families in the Province'. This is supplemented by three record testimonies that Stuart's wife's name was Sarah, viz: (a) the entry in the St. Helena's parish register (SCHM, xxiii, 185) of the baptism, June 20, 1759, of 'Stuart, John Joseph, son of Capt. John and Sarah, born at Charles Town November 23, 1757'; (b) the will of John Stuart, dated 16 February, 1776, naming his 'wife Sarah Stuart'; and (c) the Loyalist Memorial of 1783 by 'Sarah Stuart, widow of Col. John Stuart'. If, then, John Stuart's wife Sarah was a Fenwick, it happens that Sarah, daughter of 7. John Fenwick, is the only 'Miss Fenwick' of the Carolina family of her generation whose marriage is not otherwise accounted for. Moreover, the identification finds support in the objection of 9. Edward to the marriage of his son with Capt. Stuart's daughter, for if Capt. Stuart's wife was a sister of 9. Edward, the young people were cousins german.

ruary, 1745/6, as then living in Carolina, where he had already married his first wife; and a year later, when he would be 26 years of age, the Privy Council made the following nominations to H. M. Council in South Carolina (*Acts P. C.*, Colonial, 1745-66, p. 796):

1746/7, Feb. 11. Hector Berenger de Beaufin, vice John Fenwick  
resigned on account of ill health.

“ “ 12. Edward Fenwick, vice Richard Hill, dec'd.

In November, 1749, he was again in England, to qualify as an executor of his father's estate, and in 1750 he had returned to Carolina and was building, in preparation for his second marriage, the interesting octagonal wing to Fenwick Hall, and beginning there his horse breeding operations.

Despite his early introduction into high political office, this Edward Fenwick seems to have taken little part in public affairs; indeed, in 1761 he resigned from the Council (*Acts P. C.*, Colonial, 1745-66, p. 797) and thenceforth, so far as we know, raised his voice on a political question only once, in 1774, when he was one of the Carolinians then in London who signed an address to the Crown against the Boston Port Act (McCrary, ii, 733).

Unlike many Americans of his time, he had subsisting family ties in England; and those ties, as well as inclination, caused him to emulate, if earlier in life, the precedent his father had set, to enjoy 'at home' the fruits of 'the plantations' beyond seas. It was thus that, during prolonged sojourns in England, he had opportunity himself to select most of the horses he imported, and it was those absences also which account for the intermittancy of his appearances on the Carolina turf, as shown by the Racing Calendar.

He was not, however, a mere absentee landlord of his colonial inheritance; but put in enough time in Carolina himself to increase his fortune by extensive operations in planting rice. The records made after his death show him then as the owner

of 500 negroes of all ages distributed on his several plantations: to those of his father on Ashepoo and Black rivers he had added by purchase Seabrook's (thenceforth known as Fenwick's) Island and a plantation on Edisto. For all these operations he maintained a depot on Ashley river, immediately opposite Charles Town, which was the Wappoo plantation on which Gen. Clinton established a battery during the siege of Charles Town in 1780, when the site was marked on the military maps with the name 'Fenwick's Point'. When in Carolina, Mr. Fenwick resided in winter at Fenwick Hall on John's Island and in summer in Charles Town, on Church Street;<sup>3</sup> and, although his breeding establishment was on John's Island, maintained another 'brick stable' on White Point, now known as the Battery of Charleston, where, as the advertisements show, most of the newly imported English horses were first exhibited. Throughout his life he was a loyal churchman, being a Warden of both St. Michael's Parish in Charles Town and of St. John's Parish Colleton which included John's Island.

After his last sojourn in England, 1769-1774, Mr. Fenwick reached Charles Town on December 10, 1774, suffering from a dropsy, as was chronicled in the current newspapers (SCHM, xxi, 70); and six months later an obituary tells the story of the end of his life.

[1775, July 21, S. C. & Am. General Gazette; see also SCHM, xiii, 64]

'This day arrived here, in the sloop *Commerce*, Capt. Richardson, from New York, the remains of the Hon. Edward Fenwicke, Esq.; a gentleman not less distinguished by his goodness of heart, than his ample fortune. He had resided several years in England, on account of the education of his numerous family, which having in a great measure accomplished, he returned last year to this his native country. Being attacked with a violent disorder, he was advised to avoid our summer heats, and accordingly, about six weeks ago, sailed for New York, where,

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<sup>3</sup> See John Davis' account of the seasonal perigrinations of the Draytons of Magnolia as an illustration of the impermanence of residence which the Carolina climate developed in the well to do planters of that province. It sounds like the restlessness of the modern American millionaire, who maintains villas from Maine to Florida.

after suffering much with a becoming fortitude, he died on the 7th of this month. As he lived beloved and respected, so he died sincerely regretted by all who had the happiness of being acquainted with so good and worthy a man.

'In the same vessel returned here, Mrs. Fenwicke, widow, and Messrs. Edward & Thomas Fenwicke, sons of the above-mentioned gentleman.'

His will was as follows:

[*Charles Town Probate Court*, W. B. 1774-1779, p. 283]

*Edward Fenwicke* of Charles Town in province of South Carolina, Esquire.

WILL dated 15 April, 1775 [SCHM, xiv, 7, says proved August 5, 1775].

*To wife Mary*, for life, in lieu of dower, an annuity of £100 sterling money of Great Britain; the use and occupation of the mansion 'house in St. Michael's parish, Charles Town, wherein I now live', and the lot on which that house stands, fronting on Church Street and extending to Meeting Street; 'either of my pews in Charles Town which she may chuse'; chariot & coach horses, household goods, furniture & linen, several negroes by name; and such supplies from the plantations and gardens as she may require for the use of the minor children while under her care.

*To executors* all lands on John's Island & at Wappoo in trust for the use

(a) as to John's Island, one moiety to son Edward, and one moiety to son George.

(b) as to Wappoo, to son Thomas,  
with remainder as to all such lands to other sons in tail male.

*To son Edward*, reversion of mansion house in Charles Town in tail male, with remainder to other sons in order of seniority; pew in the church on John's Island; the plantation known as Old Place & its savannah at the head of Ashepoo, containing 1800 acres; together with two tracts of 95 and 200 acres adjoining said Old Place 'which my father bought of Richard Woodward, heir at law to his mother, Elizabeth Woodward, being part of a tract of 1050 acres granted to her'.

*To son Thomas*, my northernmost house & lot of land on the Bay of Charles Town; plantation near Jacksonburgh purchased from Archibald Hamilton, containing 1100 acres; & adjacent tract purchased of Gideon Dupont, containing 100 acres.

*To son Robert William*, my southernmost lot of land on the Bay of Charles Town, with the dwelling house, stores, etc., thereon; a tract

at the head of Ashepoo, called Fountainbleau, containing 1600 acres, with adjacent tract of 200 acres lately granted by the Crown.

*To son George*, the westernmost part of the southern moiety of lot in Charles Town known by the number 204, with the dwelling house thereon now in the occupation of Mr. Hewatt; a tract, known as the Fishponds, above the Fishponds Bridge, purchased of Culcheth Gibbes, and an adjoining plantation of 1100 acres purchased of Mr. Hutson.

*To son John Roger*, the south tenement on the easternmost part of the southern moiety of lot No. 204 in Charles Town, with the dwelling house thereon, now in the occupation of Robert Gibbes, Esq.; a plantation partly on Ashepoo and partly on the Chessley Breaks, containing 2300 acres, purchased of Messrs. Mazycks; and my island commonly called Seabrooke's Island, purchased from Hugh Cartwright.

*To sons, Edward, Thomas, Robert William, George and John Roger*, each one-fifth of all slaves (not otherwise disposed of), cattle, hogs and sheep.

*To daughters, Sarah, Mary, Martha, Selina, Charlotte, Matilda and Harriet*, each a lot in Charles Town, some in lot 204 and some on White Point, with a suitable dwelling house, 22 x 40 feet, to be built thereon 'by my own workmen'; several negroes by name; and £3000 sterling money of Great Britain; said £21,000 and the cost of the dwelling houses to be charged generally on the estate.

All money in England to be divided equally among all children.

[*Horses*] 'It is my will and direction that my Executors do put up to sale as soon as conveniently may be after my decease all the horses which I have at any time imported from England (my coach horses excepted) and all the horses and colts bred from them.'

[*The Stuart marriage*] 'In case either of my sons should marry the daughter of Mr. [blank] or in case either of them should marry without the consent of his mother, in either of those cases I give, devise and bequeath such part of my estate heretofore or hereafter given to such son to go and be divided between my other children . . . and in lieu of the estate so to go over I give and bequeath to such disobedient child or children the annual sum of £200 sterling money of Great Britain.'

Residuary estate to sons Thomas, Robert William, George and John Roger.

Three younger sons to be educated in a liberal manner.

*Executors* and guardians of minor children, wife Mary, friends Henry Middleton, Arthur Middleton, Robert Gibbes, John Gibbes & Thomas Ferguson, Esquires.

*Witnesses*: James Edmonds, Josiah Smith, jr., William Capers.

CODICIL dated 2 June, 1775 & proved with will.

Revokes appointment of wife as executrix, trustee, guardian, etc.

To son Edward, mansion house in Charles Town in fee simple, subject only to life estate of widow.

Recites inability to have plat made of intended division of John's Island estate & therefore directs executors to divide such lands equally between sons Edward and George.

*Witnesses:* Will. Gibbes, Richard Hutson, John Carrell.

This 9. *Edward Fenwick* m., 1st, 1745, Martha, dau. of Ralph Izard (1688-1743, SCHM, ii, 211) of 'The Elms', Goose Creek, and by her, who died 1749, had a dau. Elizabeth, who m., 1766, John Barnwell (1748-1800, SCHM, ii, 54) and died the same year; and 2d, 1753 (SCHM, x, 231), Mary (1734-1805), dau. of Thomas Drayton (1700-1760; *Publications Genealogical Society of Pa.*, viii, 8) of 'Magnolia' on Ashley River; and by her (who remarried, 1776, John William Gerard de Brahm, 1717-1799, the Swiss military engineer who emigrated to Georgia, 1751, was H. M. Surveyor General, 1754, drew a notable map of S. Carolina and Georgia, 1757, and built the fortifications on Sullivan's Island which were used in the defence of 1776) had no less than fifteen children, including 11. *Edward*, 1753, who revived the John's Island Stud; 12. *Thomas*, 1758; 13. Robert William, 1765, who was left at school in England in 1774 and died there before 1785; 14. George, 1771, named in his father's will, who was (said his brother Thomas) a midshipman in the British navy and also died before 1785; 15. *John Roger*, 1773; and a troupe of daughters (SCHM, xiv, 6). One of these is reputed by local legend still to haunt Fenwick Hall in consequence of a tragic romance with an English stud groom (the traditional story is told in Mrs. Leiding's *Historic Houses of S. Carolina*). Others named in their father's will married after his death, MacCartan Campbell, Walter Izard, Thomas Gadsden, William Leigh Pierce and Josiah Tattnall, jr.; and it was on a bill in chancery, filed in 1784 by several of them and their husbands, whereby they sought to 'raise' out of the estate of their father



the 'fortunes' charged thereon generally by his will for their benefit, that their eldest brother was compelled to sell Fenwick Hall in 1788, and so write *finis* to 'an old song'.

XII. 11. *Edward Fenwick, junior* (1753-1800), eldest son of 9. Edward, who revived and for ten years (1777-1788) carried on the John's Island Stud, was in London in 1774 with his father, and, being just of age, then signed the Address to the Crown against the Boston Port Bill (McCrady, ii, 733). This might well have been the beginning of a distinguished American career; but Fate and weak human nature decreed otherwise.

It must have been immediately after his return to Charles Town in December, 1774, that he met and secretly married his cousin german the daughter of John Stuart, H. M. Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department (*q. v. ante*, p. 34). That this marriage had been opposed by his father appears from a letter (SCHM, xxvii, 117), written from Philadelphia, July 6, 1775, by Henry Middleton, the President of Congress, to his son, Arthur, who was the next year to be a 'Signer':

'I purpose to set out on Saturday for New York, in order to see my friend, Mr. Fenwicke, who Mr. Huger tells me, is in a confirmed dropsy and is given over by the physicians, who attend him. I am really under much concern for poor Mrs. Fenwicke and greatly pity her situation. I understand that he knows nothing yet of his son Ned's being married to Miss Stuart; and as he has left him only an annuity in case such a match should take place, I intend to break it to him, and try whether I cannot persuade him to make an alteration in his will in Ned's favour; and I hope he will not carry his resentment to the grave with him'.

The kind intervention so planned was thwarted by the death of Mr. Fenwick, senior, the day after this letter was written. It does not appear what was the ground of the objection to the marriage against which he had set his face; nor whether the father learned before his death that that marriage had already

been consummated; but his will shows that, under other influence, he mitigated his severity in the face of death. If he did not make provision for an eldest son's preference to 'Ned', he did erase the name 'Stuart' from the will and so nullified the punishment which the record of that name would have involved; and he added a codicil which showed a measure of renewed confidence in his son.

When it is said that 'Ned' was a good horseman we have recorded the best that can be said of him. At another period he might have been an ornament of society, but it was his misfortune to fall on troubled times, when steadfast politics were at a greater premium than pleasant manners. His marriage undoubtedly began his difficulties and, quite apart from his father's disapproval, early complicated his social relations; for John Stuart became soon afterwards the best hated of the Crown officers in America by reason of his use of influence among the Creeks and Cherokees against the revolutionary cause.

It was, indeed, as a consequence of that activity of his new father-in-law that this Edward made his first appearance on the Carolina record: a petition of September, 1776 (*Assembly Journal*, ed. Salley, 1909, p. 34), that thirty negroes, part of John Stuart's Carolina estate which had been sequestered by order of the Provincial Congress, be assigned to him in right of his wife. He was then treated with marked consideration; but, when soon afterward he aided his wife's mother to leave Charles Town in order to join her husband at St. Augustine, Fenwick was arrested and for a time imprisoned (McCrary, iii, 187). As he did not, like his brother Thomas, ever exhibit any political convictions, it may well be that resentment engendered by that mortifying experience prevented him from doing the natural and easy thing, which would have been to join, even passively as some others did, the rest of his large family connection in support of the Whig interest; and led him into the successive acts which have tarnished his memory.

During Carolina's three comparatively peaceful years (1777-1779) following the repulse of Sir Henry Clinton's attack on

Sullivan's Island, Fenwick does not seem to have taken sides. He was apparently devoting himself lightheartedly to reviving the John's Island Stud; for to these years belong his advertised stands of \*Matchem (1777) and \*Flinnap (1778 and 1779).

But in 1779, when the British general Prévost, after his successful defense of Savannah, took the offensive and invaded Carolina by land, Fenwick joined him; and, as it was afterwards charged (SCHM, viii, 222), immediately sent off within the British lines in Georgia the 100 negroes of his father's estate which were his distributive share but not yet allotted by the Executors. He was then also the protagonist in another and more serious affair, which ever after was remembered against him.

As told by McCrady (iii, 396), the story is that one day in the autumn of 1779 young Edward Fenwick went to dine with his neighbor John Raven Mathewes on John's Island and so had opportunity to ascertain the strength of the small Whig contingent stationed on the Mathewes plantation. He at once reported to Gen. Prévost, who thereupon surprised and captured the post. The accident that a popular American officer, John Barnwell (1748-1800), of Fenwick's own family connection, was wounded in this sinister affair aggravated the Whig resentment. As a consequence, Fenwick found it expedient to secure a guard for Fenwick Hall, thus inaugurating the picturesque negro tradition that 'red coats' are still (150 years later) to be seen on moonlight nights doing sentry duty in the forecourt.

During the siege of Charles Town the next year he was in the British camp; and, after the town had fallen in May, 1780, was reported (Irving, iii, 44) to be in residence in his father's house on Church Street, 'entertaining the British officers by balls and dinners'. To this levity it was his bad fortune a few months later to add another conspicuous offense: he was persuaded to lend his father's honoured name to the group of militant loyalists in Charles Town who organized an

Address of congratulation to Lord Cornwallis on the defeat of Gates at Camden. Such was the resentment of his Whig kinsmen at this last gratuitous insult that Fenwick was piqued and planned to go to live in England, where he had property under the entail created by 5. Edward. The evidence is his advertisement of December 20, 1780, that

'the subscriber, intending to embark for England early in the next spring, purposes to dispose of all his stud of running horses at private sale'.

Unfortunately for his reputation if not for his pocket book, Fenwick did not act on this impulse. He remained in Carolina, though thenceforth under cover, until 1782, when the Jacksonborough Assembly met to visit its wrath upon the Tories.

In the forfeiture act of 1782 (*Statutes*, iv, 516) Fenwick was named among the 'Camden Addressers' who, it was declared,

'were so thoroughly attached to the British interest and so lost to the feelings of humanity and their duty to the State, as to congratulate the earl Cornwallis on the success of his Britannic Majesty's arms and to glory in the blood of their countrymen which had been shed by the hands of the enemies to the independence of America',

that all should be banished from Carolina and their estates forfeited.

Fenwick was, as he well might be, alarmed by this decree, for, following Yorktown, the tide had turned against the British arms in America; and he cast about to find what a weak man might do to avert the threatened forfeiture. Being within the British lines during Gen. Nathanael Greene's investiture of Charles Town following the adjournment of the Jacksonborough Assembly, he opened up communications with the American headquarters and supplied military intelligence concerning the British plans which was of value to Gen. Greene (*cf.* McCrady, iv, 641), stipulating in consideration of that service

for release from the act of 1782. Older and better men, who also vacillated during the degrading years of horrid civil war which Prévost, followed by Cornwallis, let loose in Carolina, had done such things and were forgotten; but Fenwick's treason to the British was so conspicuously sordid that when, after Carolina had got rid of the red coats, and the native Tories were no longer dangerous, the new State began to temper the ferocity of her revolutionary decrees of 1782 and by acts of 1783 and 1784 released a number of sequestered estates, Fenwick was not included.

As he insisted on his bargain, his case was debated by the Assembly in 1785 and though contempt of him was publicly expressed, the bargain was held binding and a special act of oblivion was passed (*Statutes*, iv, 687), tagged with a stinging recital that '*it is found necessary* to repeal so much of the [forfeiture act of 1782] as relates to the estate of Edward Fenwick'.

But Fenwick's cup was not yet full. In 1786 he petitioned the Assembly to restore to him also civil rights, and in the ensuing debate in the Senate it appeared that by reason of his treason to the British his property in England had been escheated, that he had been denied a passport and was now a man without a country. The record, so degrading to Fenwick and so creditable to General Barnwell, who, with his brother, had suffered by Fenwick's earliest treason, survives in a contemporary newspaper, viz :

[1786, March 4, Charleston Morning Post & Daily Advertiser]

*House of Senate, Friday, March 3:* Resumed the consideration of report of the committee on his Excellency the Governor's Message, accompanied with a letter from General Greene, requesting his Excellency would lay before the legislature a promise made to Mr. Edward Fenwick, during the war, that, in consideration of eminent services performed, he would use his endeavours to procure his exemption from the penalties of the Confiscation Act.

Col. Hill was one of the Committee appointed to consider Mr. Fenwick's petition. A great many arguments were used in favor of the petition by different gentlemen at that time, none of which carried con-

viction to his mind. A proposal was made to admit to the rights of citizenship a man that had been an enemy to the country, and was considered by every person to be a man of indifferent principles. It was establishing a very bad precedent; they had already restored him to his estate, which in his opinion was fully sufficient to compensate for any services he had done. He respected Gen. Greene as much as any gentleman on the floor, but as all that gallant General had promised, was only to recommend Mr. Fenwicke's case to the legislature, surely the legislature had an option whether they would receive him or not. He thought they had amply paid him for his services; for he was credibly informed, that Mr. Fenwicke never sent any intelligence to the American Generals that was not previously known by [means of] British officers.

Gen. Barnwell wondered that the Hon. Colonel should offer as an objection to the motion, the baseness of Mr. Fenwicke's principles. The services he had rendered to us, could only be expected from men of the vilest and most desperate feelings; he who acted as a spy could be considered in no other light, for a man of honor would sooner die than privately betray a cause which he was apparently employed in prosecuting, but this was nothing to the purpose. The question was, if General Greene having made a sacred promise that this man should be gratified, whether the house approved of and would make good the promise of their General. He knew General Greene well; that his nice sense of honor, rendered it impossible for him to be capable of a falsehood, and having in his letter to the house, assured that Mr. Fenwicke's services merited the indulgence then offered at their hands, he hoped they would no longer hesitate to grant it.

The Intendant [Arnaldus Vander Horst] thought Mr. Fenwicke's character had nothing to do with the matter. The point was whether they meant to preserve the honor of their General, and the dignity of their state. General Greene at the time when he made this promise, stood in a high situation indeed; he was a dictator, and conceived that his promises made on that day to reward those who could render services, would be afterwards fulfilled by the legislature. Although now in profound peace, did gentlemen suppose we should always continue so? Should we in future be involved in another war, what man even the most abandoned and depraved, would undertake the service of a spy, at the risk of his personal safety to serve a nation so eminently unpolitic as to forfeit former obligations entered into by those Generals who gallantly fought her battles. He wished to interest the humanity of the house in behalf of the petitioner. In consequence of what he had done his property was taken from him in England and he was obliged to fly. Should we drive him from this, to what foreign country could he resort for an asylum?

Bereft of property, ruined in his character, and literally a fugitive, to drive him from hence, were to drive him to destruction. He therefore hoped that he might be permitted to remain where he was.

Mr. Dessausure would vote in favour of the petitioner, because he wished to see the house always act with consistency. They had recently admitted two persons who had been excepted by the Confiscation act, and to refuse this gentleman what he now prayed for, would betray great fickleness and inconsistency.

*Ordered*, that the same Committee do prepare and bring in a bill to admit Edward Fenwicke to the rights, privileges and immunities of a citizen of this state.

[1786, March 13, The State Gazette]

The House took into consideration the report of the committee to whom was referred the petition of Edward Fenwicke, Esq., from Major General Greene on the subject of Mr. Fenwicke's petition, which was agreed to.

Thus, although he soon lost possession of Fenwick Hall as a consequence of a family litigation, during the remaining 15 years of his life Fenwick was free to resume the gratification of his interest in horses and racing, and to make the creditable turf record which we have collected elsewhere (p. 95).

The following newspaper obituary records the end of one of the self-frustrated victims of the American Revolution:

[1800, September 23, S. C. City Gazette; SCHM, xxvi, 170]

'Died, on Friday last, the 16th instant, in the 46th year of his age, Edward Fenwick, esquire, eldest son of the late Edward Fenwick, esquire'.

This 11. *Edward Fenwick, junior*, left no son to carry on the tradition of the John's Island Stud. He had m. 1775 Christiana, daughter of John Stuart (*q. v.*, p. 34). The Stuart Loyalist Memorial shows that she was in England in 1783, but was dead in 1787 when her brother's testimony in support of the family claim was recorded; leaving her surviving two daughters, Sarah, born 1776, and Mary, born 1784. There was, too (Steinman, *History of Croydon*, p. 193), the following

monumental inscription in the parish church of Croydon, co. Surrey (where the air port now is) viz:

'Underneath this stone are deposited ye Remains of Mrs. Christ. Fenwick, wife of Edward Fenwick of South Carolina, Esqr., and last surviving Daughter of the late Colonel John Stuart, died November ye 6, 1785, aged 33 years'.

Of the daughters of 11. Edward ('the Misses Fenwick' mentioned with some traditional distortion of the record by Dr. Johnson, p. 109), the elder, Sarah, was dead before 1801, but the younger, Mary, was living unmarried in London in 1815, when she inherited and administered upon the estate of her uncle, Sir John Stuart, as appears from the record of his will, viz:

[P. C. C. *Packenham*, 282]

*Sir John Stuart*, colonel of H. M. Regiment of Minorca, & Brigadier General [later described, at probate, as 'K. B. late of Queen Ann Street, West, co. Middx., Lieut. general & colonel H. M. 20th Regiment of Foot, at Clifton, co. Somerset, dec'd'].

*Will* dated 5 March, 1801, 'off Abouker, near Alexandria in Egypt', and proved 24 May, 1815.

After legacies to an aunt in Edinburgh, servants, etc.:

To 'my cousin James Stuart [of Beaufort, S. C.], son of my late uncle Francis of South Carolina', negroes, lands, etc., in Bahamas & right to lands in America. [Dr. Johnson says that Dr. James Stuart 'died eight days before the date of Sir John's will', with the consequence that this devise lapsed and fell into the residuary estate.]

To 'my niece Mary Fenwick, only surviving daur. of my late dear sister Christiana', the residuary estate; interest to be applied for her education, etc., until 21; then £600; and rest to be settled on her for her marriage; she to reside in Europe. . . . 'My bequests to my niece Mary Fenwick being unconnected with her right to certain property inherited either in right of her mother under my father's will or otherwise and now in hands of my attorneys; they to be brought to distinct settlement'.

Executors Charles Shaw, James Simpson, & Frederick Booth.

1815, May 30. The executors having first renounced, Admon. c. t. a. to Mary Fenwick, spinster, niece and residuary legatee, for life, during her residence in Europe but no further.



XII. 12. *Thomas Fenwick* (1758-post 1787), second son of 9. Edward, was, he stated later, 'about 16' years of age when his father died, though the family record (SCHM, xiv, 6) makes him out eighteen. He had been bred at Westminster School (See Barker & Stenning, *Westminster School Register*) with his cousin, the later General Sir John Stuart, being likewise intended for the army. Arriving in Charles Town for his father's funeral in the electrical atmosphere created by the news of the recent battle of Bunker Hill, he was at once induced (he said 'obliged') to accept a commission as Ensign in his kinsman's, Captain Charles Drayton's, Volunteer Company of Foot (SCHM, i, 134, 186). He later testified that he saw no active service in the Whig interest. The next local record of him is at the siege of Savannah in 1779, when 'at the first opportunity' he avowed his allegiance to the Crown and joined General Prévost. He seems to have been moved by conviction, for thenceforth, when older men were changing sides, he remained 'a steady, zealous loyalist', as Lord Cornwallis himself testified:

'Mansfield Street, March 27th, 1783.

'Mr. [Thomas] Fenwick, a gentleman of considerable property in South Carolina joined his Majesty's troops under Genl. Prevost in the year 1779, continuing during the remainder of the war to give every assistance in his power to the British arms and proved himself on all occasions a steady zealous loyalist.

Cornwallis'.

His own account of his conduct from his father's death until the evacuation of Charles Town in 1782, as rehearsed in his Memorial of 1783 to the Commissioners hearing claims of American Loyalists (New York Public Library transcripts, *Loyalist Claims*, vol. 57, p. 3), was as follows:

'That during the late unhappy dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies your Memorialist considering himself bound by his Allegiance to his Majesty engaged in the Royal Cause and served personally under Genl. Prevost in the defence of Savannah and lastly under General Sir Henry Clinton at the seige and taking of Charles Town',

and this was later (1787) specified by the following testimony:

'He is a native of Charles Town. His father resided in Charles Town and the neighbourhood. He was a minor about 16 when the troubles broke out. His father died in 1775. He joined General Prevost on his coming into Carolina, which was the first opportunity he had of joining; previous to which he had been obliged to find substitutes for the Militia, and to do Militia duty in person, but never was in any actual service. When with the British he was nominally Aide de Camp to Col. Maitland with the nominal rank of Captain which was given him that he might be exchanged if taken prisoner. He continued with the British until the evacuation of Charles Town, when he came to England'.

This modest statement, made when proof of important services was indicated by interest, tends to step down the adjectives of effective malignancy applied to Thomas Fenwick by the local Whig historians, some of whom have confused him with his brother Edward. There is no evidence to prove him to have been a dashing raider of the school of Tarleton; but there can be no doubt that the Whigs resented him enough to justify his own subsequent assertion that by reason of his loyalty he had 'lost all his friends' in Carolina as well as his property.

He appears on the page of history only once, and then with some distortion of emphasis. This was in an obscure military operation, of which McCrady (iv, 134) preserves the story, which he drew from Dr. Johnson's *Traditions* (p. 351).

After the fall of Charles Town, the Whig partizan William Harden of the Beaufort District joined Marion north of the Santee and in April, 1781, was authorized to lead a raid into his own native country. Here, at Pocotaligo (the old capital of the Yamasee Indians) was a British militia post called Fort Balfour, under the command of Col. Robert Ballingall, a Scot who had been the manager of the plantations of 9. Edward Fenwick. McCrady's source attributed that command, however, to 'Colonel Thomas Fenwick' and proceeds to relate that when Harden planned to advance on Fort Balfour Fenwick came out to meet him. In the skirmish which ensued Fen-

wick had the advantage, but, suffering some loss, retired. Harden also found it expedient to fall back; and after resting his men beyond the Salkehatchie returned to the attack. At Pocatigo he found Fenwick visiting a hospital outside the redoubt and so had the fortune to surprise and capture him, with seven dragoons. Thereupon Harden summoned the fort, and Col. Ballingall surrendered with 8 officers and 63 dragoons.

Fenwick was eventually exchanged and so was enabled to leave Charles Town with the British fleet, at the evacuation, in pursuance of the recent invitation conveyed to him by the Jacksonborough Assembly. In the act of 1782 his name appears in the list No. 5 of those who 'still hold or have held commissions under his Britannic Majesty and are now with the enemy'.

Being thus not only banished but deprived of his inheritance, Thomas Fenwick was one of the unhappy group of expatriated Americans resident in London, who sought compensation from the Crown under the act of Parliament of 1783 (28 George III, c. 44) passed for the relief of the American loyalists. He estimated the aggregate value of his interest in his father's estate to be £15,542, plus a fifth share of the estates of his two deceased younger brothers; but no record has come to light of what he was allowed in compensation. His testimony in support of this claim was given on December 19, 1787. That date is the last record of him known in America. He was thenceforth no longer a *Carolina* Fenwick.<sup>4</sup>

XII. 15. *John Roger Fenwick* (1773-1842), youngest son of 9. Edward, had the good fortune to be born too late to become embroiled in the political animosities which rent the elders of his generation. Although in 1787 his exiled brother, Thomas, was informed that he had 'died an infant in Charles

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<sup>4</sup> The name 'Thomas Fenwick', which has been reproduced among the Drayton descendants (*e. g.*, General Thomas Fenwick Drayton, C. S. A.) of the daughter of 9. Edward who married Thomas Gadsden (*Publications Genealogical Society of Pa.*, viii, 8), seems to have had no reference to this 12. Thomas, but to be a new combination drawn from two families.

Town', he grew up in the post-revolutionary atmosphere of that community and first appears on the record (Callahan, *Navy List*, p. 685) in 1799, when he was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps. Thence he was regularly promoted, becoming a Captain in 1809. In April, 1811, he resigned in order to transfer to the army and in the following December (Hamersly, *Army List*) was commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel in the Regiment of Light Artillery, U. S. A.; in which rank he saw service in the war of 1812, being brevetted Colonel for 'gallant conduct at Niagara' in 1813. Thenceforth he served in several staff capacities until 1821, when he became Colonel of the Fourth Artillery on the regular establishment. In 1823 he was brevetted a Brigadier General, U. S. A., and in that rank ended an honourable professional career.

So far as a diligent search reveals, his portrait, painted by Gilbert Stuart (reproduced as No. 295 in Park, *Gilbert Stuart*, iii, 175), survives as the sole such document to testify for his family: for on the death of General John Roger Fenwick in 1842 the 'tail male' of the Carolina Fenwicks was broken. Their tradition has since been maintained only by descendants of General Fenwick's sisters.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *The John's Island Stud, 1750-1788*

**J**OHN'S ISLAND, thirteen miles in extreme length by six in mean breadth, is the largest of that delta of 'sea islands' which constitute a sylvan Venice on the Carolina coast between Charleston and Port-Royal. A flat lowland, lying a tier back from the coastal barrier of palmetto-crowned sand-hills, this particular 'island' justifies that designation because it is surrounded and intersected by a network of tortuous but navigable tidal creeks and inlets. The characteristic sandy loam, of which it consists, has always responded generously to cultivation because of the underlying deposit of marl; and successive generations have taken from it profitable crops of maize, indigo, long staple cotton and, now, market-vegetables.

Considering that the system of agriculture which these crops all require calls for a rigorous suppression of grass, it is necessary for one who looks upon a grassless John's Island today, and would understand how it could ever have sustained successful horse breeding, to appreciate the natural phenomenon locally known as a savannah. That appreciation cannot be better brought home to a reader than by quoting the observations recorded in the seventeenth century, by the first Englishman who described this region. Landing on Edisto Island one day in June, 1666, and being invited to call on the local cacique, Robert Sandford set out on foot:

'This walk [he said] opened to our view so excellent a Country both for woodland and Meadows, as gave singular satisfaction to all my Company. We crossed one Meadow of not less than a thousand acres, all firm good land and as rich a soyle as any, clothed with a fine grasse not passing knee deep, but very thick-set, and fully adorned with yellow flowers: a pasture not inferior to any I have seen in England. The [surrounding] woodlands . . . were of oak, maple, ash, walnut, poplar, and bay; the trees tall and straight'.

Such savannahs are found both on the sea islands and the terra firma as far inland as the 'pine barrens' which constitute the upper zone of the 'low country'. They are treeless prairies, lifted geologically from their original status of swamp and encompassed by hardwood forest. When permitted, they produce spontaneously and profusely, today as formerly, a short thick sweet grass. As their natural limits were (and are) clearly observable, the first English colonists gave them names some times having reference to shape (Round O, Spoon, Cow, Horse, Horseshoe, Godfrey's, etc.) and so they are laid down on the old maps. That before the introduction of cotton at the end of the eighteenth century they were uniformly reserved for pasture and devoted to stock breeding appears at once from the testimony of the map makers and from the fact that for a quarter century before the Revolution, whenever possible, the advertisements of covering horses put emphasis on their stands in the vicinity of one of these named savannahs.

Thus, and thus only, are we prepared to reconcile the impressions of a drive across John's Island today through miles of prosperous cabbage fields, with the description of the site of the John's Island stud as it was in 1778, when \*Flinnap was advertised to stand:

'at Mr. Edward Fenwicke's plantation on John's Island . . . There is an inclosure of a thousand acres of rich savannah: besides 200 acres of high ground under a different fence [on which] to turn mares that bring foals with them'.

Here it was on Stono River that John Fenwick built in 1730 the notable plantation house now called Fenwick Hall, and here his son Edward Fenwick, sr., established the John's Island Stud about 1750. This last date is fixed by that of the octagonal wing then added to Fenwick Hall and the construction of the flanking brick barns, one designed for coach horses, the other for a breeding establishment. Like the plantation house, the coach barn still stands; but, unhappily, the stud barn is a mass of ruins and so, although we may measure the wide foun-

datations with respect and are told by negro tradition that the building once contained 'mahogany stalls and silver mangers', we are unable to estimate its plan and disposition.

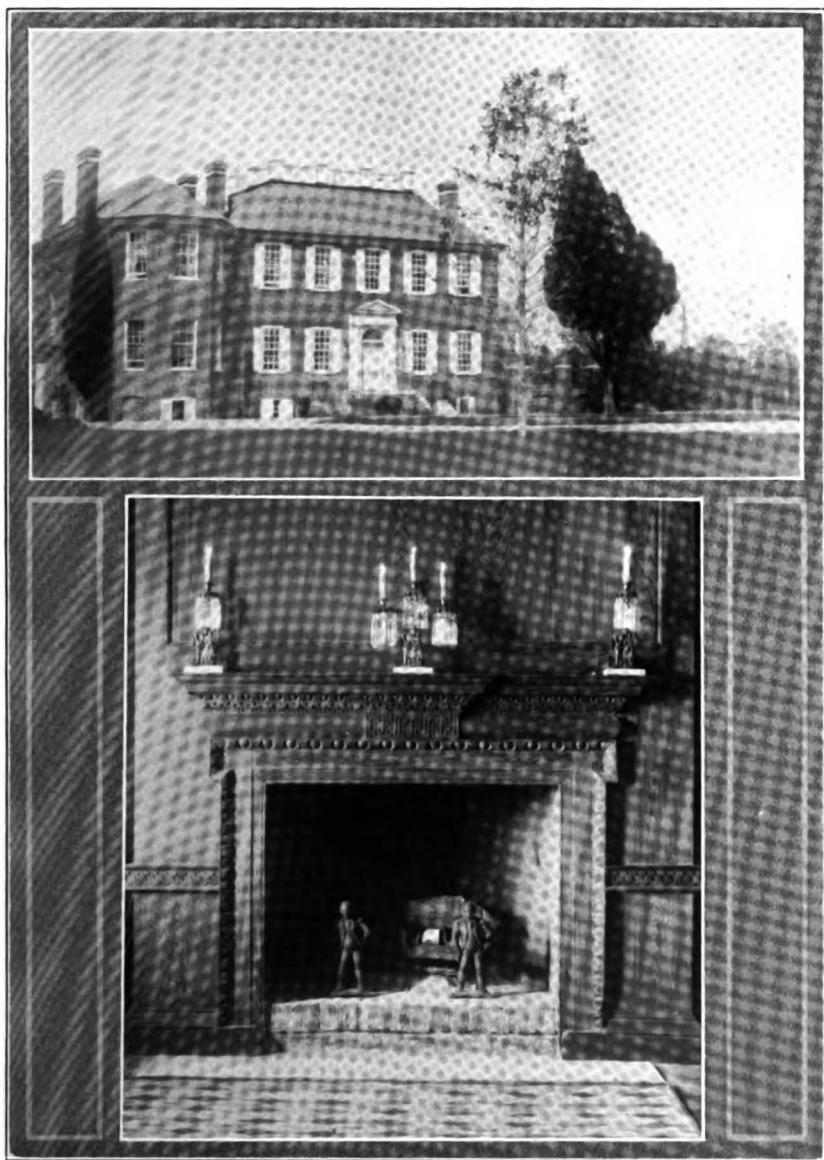
The site is one which warrants a pious pilgrimage by the horseman interested in the background of his art; for, after preliminary breeding experiments on a foundation stock of 'Chickasaw' blood, Edward Fenwick, sr., earned his right to be styled the Founder of the Turf in Carolina by bringing and mating here the following importations of Godolphin blood, viz:

- 1756 Brutus, son of Martindale's Regulus (GSB, i, 133; Bruce, i, 9).
- 1758 Tarquin, son of D. of Ancaster's Tarquin (Bruce, i, 56).
- 1759 Black-and-all-Black, (probably) son of Ld. Portmore's Oroonoko (not in any stud book).
- 1759 A Squirt mare.
- 1759 A Tartar mare.
- 1763 Pam, son of Martindale's Regulus (GSB, i, 382; Bruce, i, 41).
- 1766 Centinel, son of D. of Ancaster's Blank (GSB, i, 145; Bruce, i, 11).
- 1766 Follower, son of D. of Ancaster's Blank (GSB, i, 151; Bruce, i, 21).
- 1766 A Brilliant mare.
- 1766 A Bajazet mare.
- 1767 Shadow, son of Rogers' Babraham (GSB, i, 202; Bruce, i, 48).
- 1773 Matchless, 'the last surviving son of the Godolphin Arabian' (GSB, i, 196; Bruce, i, 36).
- 1773 A Villager mare, with her colt (\*Matchem) by Stamford's Bosphorus.
- 1773 A Merlin mare.

Here, finally, during the Revolution Edward Fenwick, jun., brought another horse of the Godolphin blood, which had been imported into Carolina in 1772:

- 1778 Flimnap, son of South (GSB, i, 73; Bruce, i, 22).

The evidence for all of this stock is collected in the following notes:



FENWICK HALL, JOHN'S ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA



(a) *The Foundation Stock.*

The historical evidence being that the first horses in use in Carolina were 'Narragansett pacers', brought from Rhode Island as early as 1682 (Appendix 1), it is altogether probable that the immigrant John Fenwick used them both for war and travel; but when his son Edward came upon the stage the pacer had been superseded in general use by descendants of the barbs imported by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, bred by the plains Indians beyond the Mississippi, and known to Carolinians before 1745 as the 'Chickasaw breed', because the stock had been brought across the Mississippi by that tribe (See Appendix 2).

The Narragansett horse was swift and undoubtedly had been raced in Carolina, as we know he was in his place of origin, but it is probable that it was soon found that the Chickasaw horse could beat him on the turf; and thus it is that the longest Carolina racehorse pedigrees all extend to a taproot in the Chickasaw stock. It was therefore to be expected that we should find that the John's Island Stud arose on a Chickasaw foundation; but it also appears that, before he began himself to import English horses, Edward Fenwick sought to cross his native foundation mares with such English blood as was available.

The evidence referred to is the pedigree of a horse known as Quash's Coxcomb, bred on John's Island by Edward Fenwick, jun., a consistent winner on the Carolina turf from 1785 to 1788, and advertised also as a covering horse from 1786 to 1793. Coxcomb's final extant advertisement, offering him for sale, stated his pedigree as follows:

[1793, October 19, Charleston City Gazette]

*Coxcomb* [neither coat nor age stated, but probably foaled 1780], formerly the property of Robert Quash, Esq., was got by [Middleton's] Abdallah: his dam by [Fenwick's imported] Centinel: his granddam by [Fenwick's imported] Brutus: his great granddam by [Fenwick's] Duke, a full brother to the noted old running horse [Huger's] Prince [both being sons of Middleton's \*Spotless]: his great great granddam by a

Chickasaw horse: out of a mare got by an imported horse of Governor [Robert] Johnson's.

Henry Bonneau,  
St. Thomas' Parish.

When analysed this breeding is found to be of the highest historical significance as indicating comprehensively not only the material with which Edward Fenwick founded his stud, but the limits of the opportunity of a breeder in Carolina before Mr. Fenwick began himself to introduce Godolphin blood.

Of Coxcomb's sire, Middleton's Abdallah (by \*Abdullah, an African bred barb out of one of the Fenwick imported mares), the notes collected (p. 205) show that he stood in the John's Island Stud for the seasons of 1779 and 1780, when it is probable that he got Coxcomb. On the dam's side the breeding of Coxcomb takes us back consecutively to a date not later than 1735.

Tracing the descent through \*Centinel and \*Brutus is clear sailing; for both those horses will be shown hereafter to have stood successively on John's Island. For the next anterior generation the evidence adduced for Huger's Prince (See p. 200) is that Duke was got, probably out of a Chickasaw mare, by an unidentified English horse named Spotless, imported by William Middleton (1710-1774); and as he removed from Carolina to England in 1755 we may safely date the importation of that Spotless as not later than 1750.

Thence, proceeding back through an acknowledged Chickasaw cross, we reach the taproot in an anonymous 'imported horse of Governor Johnson's'. Of this immigrant we know no more details of origin, age or breeding than we do of his successor, Middleton's Spotless; but the identification of the importer justifies the deduction that (like \*Spark, the first 'bred' horse of Maryland, also imported by a governor) the Carolina pioneer was a gift to the province, intended to improve the native stock, by the 'good' Governor Robert Johnson (1682-1735). What is more significant than ownership, however, is that Governor Johnson's horse must have come to Carolina

not later than 1735; i. e., at some time during his owner's final administration, from 1730 to 1735.

(b) *Nine English Horses.*

While, as has been shown, there were English horses in Carolina before Edward Fenwick began his importations, they remain without breeding identity; so that when, in 1756, an authenticated grandson of the Godolphin Arabian (as who should say a prince of the blood royal) was introduced into the embryonic John's Island Stud, he became the historical pioneer of Carolina thoroughbred horses. The Brutus (son of Regulus) we are to meet is thus interesting for his priority as well as the quality of his get, to which the early colonial Racing Calendar testified so generously; but that interest is multiplied when we find him succeeded in the same stud by a series of other grandsons of the Godolphin Arabian (sons of Tarquin, Blank and Babraham with crosses of Cade), and, finally, by Matchless, the latest born and last surviving son of the same great sire. This continuity of blood strain is in itself evidence of an intelligent and consistent breeding theory, the realization of which across the Atlantic was possible in the eighteenth century only to one who could, as Edward Fenwick did during his frequent sojourns in England, himself select his 'philosophical instruments'.

The Carolinians who soon after the arrival of Brutus began to emulate his success by the importation of other English horses will be found to be, with few exceptions, merchants rather than breeders; men who were alert to exploit the prosperity of the Carolina planters by making it possible for those who did not have individual access to the source of supply to possess imported horse flesh. That some first rate horses were introduced in that way, as well as some mere pedigrees, may be seen from the Appendix, but, in the last analysis, the study of them necessarily lacks the interest, or the instruction, to be derived from a study of the working of the mind of a single

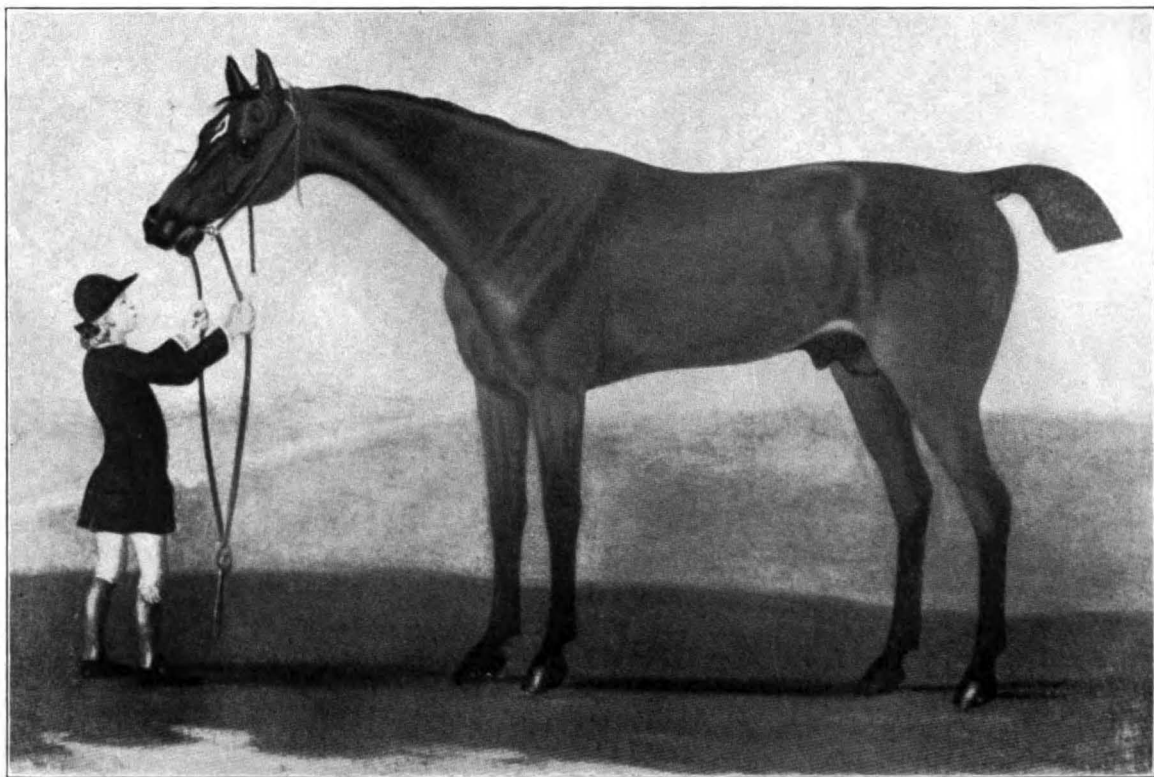
amateur breeder, projecting his experiments with alternations of success and disappointment over a quarter of a century.

All of the nine horses now to be arrayed sometime stood at John's Island. All too (except Flimnap) were imported by Mr. Fenwick; but during his absences from Carolina some of them also stood elsewhere and were described as belonging to Mr. Fenwick's cousins (later his executors), Robert and John Gibbes, or to others representing Mr. Fenwick, viz: John Croft and Thomas Nightingale, both north country immigrants to Carolina, the latter being long the proprietor of the local New-Market Course.

1. *\*Brutus, ro. c. 1748 by Martindale's Regulus out of Lodge's Roan mare (Miss Layton) by Crofts' Partner: John Martindale ('of St. James Street, saddler', but described in his will, proved in 1768, P. C. C. Secker, 119, as 'of Sutton, co. Surry, gent.')* was long a conspicuous figure on the English turf and is still remembered because he was the fortunate owner of the unbeaten Regulus, son of the Godolphin Arabian. At New Market on April 24, 1753, he started in a Fifty for four-year-olds a roan colt then tentatively known as North Star, but soon to be definitely named Brutus; which he described (Heber, 1753, p. 157) as 'got by Regulus and out of Lodge's Roan mare'. So was recorded the first public appearance of the horse destined to become the Sire of the colonial turf in Carolina.

'Lodge's Roan mare' was the successful Yorkshire race-mare known to GSB (i, 133) as Miss Layton, but recorded by Cheny (and thence by Pick, i, 45) also under the designation Mr. Martindale gave her. She was by Croft's Partner out of a dam of straight oriental blood. After her retirement from the turf her owner bred her so persistently to Martindale's Regulus that she produced five Regulus foals, all of which were acquired by Martindale and in his colours had creditable turf careers (Pick, i, 124, 150, 156).

Brutus, foaled 1748 and inheriting the coat of his dam, won two Fifties during his first racing season. Thereafter he was



MR. MARTINDALE'S REGULUS, b. c. 1739, AFTER SEYMOUR

not so fortunate but was usually placed until he broke down in the fourth heat of a grueling race he was about to win at Newmarket on September 29, 1755 (Heber, p. 94). There is no explicit evidence as to how soon thereafter he was 'sent to South Carolina', as is now recorded in GSB; but it must have been soon after his last race, for he is not included in any of Heber's lists of horses covering in England during the seven-teen fifties, and the Carolina record is that before February, 1761, his get in America had already achieved fame on the Carolina turf. In accordance with the practice of the time, these colts must have been not less than rising four-year olds when they made their public appearance, and so we may deduce that Brutus was in Carolina for the breeding season of 1756; that is to say the spring following his retirement from the turf.

When Brutus emigrated, the practice of advertising stallions in the Carolina newspapers had not been inaugurated; and if a bill was issued for him no example of it has survived. Thus we lack both the text of his introduction to America and direct evidence that he was imported by Mr. Fenwick. There is no doubt of the fact however. The extant advertisements for Brutus in the stud began in 1762 and range thereafter to 1768. The earliest of them reveals him in the possession of Daniel Horry of Santee, and he was described in 1766 as 'Squire Horry's property'; but regularly each year from 1762 to 1765 he made part of the season at 'Mr. Fenwick's plantation on John's Island', and Mr. Fenwick himself introduced several of Brutus' sons on the turf. Considering Edward Fenwick's contemporary and subsequently proven record as a pioneer importer of English blood stock, this evidence suffices to prove it was he who imported Brutus and that eventually he sold him, or an interest in him, to Daniel Horry to make room in his stable for \*Tarquin and \*Black-and-all-Black.

Throughout the seventeen sixties the Carolina racing calendar is a moving film of the triumphs of the sons of Brutus. Beginning with the advertisement in February, 1761, that the feature of the ensuing Jockey Club races at Charles Town

would be that 'several of Brutus' colts will start', the summaries of ensuing years are largely of Brutus against Brutus, of one roan colt against another roan colt, and it must be remembered that Brutus was not the only stallion of Godolphin stock then covering in the province. Izard's Y. Brutus, Fenwick's (later Elliott's) Babraham, Bellinger's Steady, Ainslie's Blank, Lynch's (later John Allston's) Tristram Shandy, and Fenwick's (later Drayton's) Partner, all sons of 'honest old Brutus', each had his moment of supremacy in the varying fortunes of that family war. Even after the introduction to the Carolina turf of several hard running English-bred racers (Skim, Centinel and Shadow), the Brutus colts, if no longer invincible, maintained their reputation as champions. To this period belong Lynch's (later Cattell's) Havannah, Hotspur, and Noble (the last named eventually Morton Wilkinson's), Drayton's Adolphus, and Fenwick's Forester, all winners not only against the get of Brutus' competitors in the Carolina stud but against the imported colts as well. A granddaughter (by \*Pam) was the taproot of W. Washington's Shark, b. c. 1791 (by \*Shark) who raced from 1795 to 1799, won 10 stakes and was said (1802) by his owner to have 'performed as well on the turf as any horse has ever done in the United States'. On this record it may be fairly said that even when DeLancey's Wildair, Sharpe's Othello, and Baylor's Fearnought were contemporaneously covering 'to the northward', *The Carolina Gazette* was not without justification in saying in January, 1766, that 'if Havannah comes first [as he did in the race referred to] Old Brutus must be acknowledged as good a stallion as is on the continent'.

The following table is a summary of Brutus' advertised stands:

- 1762 'at Mr. [Thomas] Lynch's plantation near Col. [Daniel] Horry's at Santee'.
- 1763 'at Mr. Fenwick's plantation on John's Island'.
- 1764 [no record]

- 1765 'at Mr. Daniel Horry's plantation at Santee' until May 1st  
and thereafter 'at Mr. Fenwick's plantation on John's Is-  
land'.  
1766 'at the plantation of John MacKenzie, Esq.'  
1767 [no record]  
1768 'at Mr. Ferguson's plantation [at] Spoon savannah'.

His stud-fee was at first fifty pounds (currency, not sterling). Later, when there was competition of other English horses, this was reduced to thirty-five pounds currency, equivalent to five pounds sterling.

There is no record of the date of Brutus' death; but in 1768 the horse was twenty years old, and as the last of his recorded colts appeared on the turf in 1771, it is probable that he died during, or soon after, his last advertised season.

2. \**Y. Tarquin, c. by the Ancaster Tarquin, dam not identified*: The earliest Carolina record of this horse is contemporary with that of \*Brutus, but, unlike Brutus', that record leaves his breeding, his age, and even his coat, to seek. It supplies only his name and several dates (1761-1767) from his colonial *floruit*. His stud book identification begins therefore with one of Dr. Irving's (iii, 39) precious testimonies from the *tradition* of the Carolina turf, that this \*Tarquin was 'the son of Old Tarquin, by an Arabian horse (*sic*)'. The cryptic form of this particular statement by an accomplished horseman was of course accidental, but it bred confusion in the subsequent official record; for Bruce (i, 56), having nothing to go on except Irving's text and Edgar's earlier guess,<sup>5</sup> and being willing to reconcile them if possible, translated Irving into 'by Old Tarquin: first dam an Arabian mare', and so left us at fault to find an Arabian *mare* in England in the seventeen fifties to fill any such prescription.

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<sup>5</sup> Edgar had identified \*Tarquin as Strickland's Tarquin of 1720 (GSB, i, 115), with a misinterpreted breeding; and was swallowed whole by Wallace. Bruce also entered Strickland's Tarquin, but corrected the breeding. Edgar's authority is here negligible once the Carolina dates are applied to his guess. His material is shown to have been no more than a name, derived from pedigrees, and his hard worked copy of Weatherby of 1803.



By returning to the contemporary Carolina record we are, however, happily able to reread Irving's statement as referring only to the sire of \*Tarquin; that the imported horse was a son of the Duke of Ancaster's Tarquin, b. c. 1745 (by the Godolphin Arabian out of a mare by Sir M. Wyvill's Scarborough Colt, GSB, i, 212). That such was the Carolina tradition long before Irving appears from an advertisement of Drayton's \*Pharaoh, published in November 1762. There, casually but convincingly, it is noted that Pharaoh was

'full brother on the mare's side to Brutus *and Tarquin*, they being got by sons of the Godolphin Arabian and he out of a daughter of said Arabian'.

The Ancaster Tarquin was one of the least notable of the sons of the Godolphin; but, perhaps out of deference to his noble owner, he was nevertheless included in the roster engraved on the contemporary portrait of the Godolphin, here reproduced as a frontispiece, of the distinguished members of the family. Apparently he was himself never trained, but in the stud he got several winners of Fifties. None was, however, conspicuous and all were in consequence ignored by Pick. Of only two have pedigrees survived, viz: Mr. White's Gamester, br. c. 1753 (out of a mare by Ld. Middleton's Saucebox, son of Jigg, GSB, i, 380) and Lord March's Tarquin, b. c. 1755 (out of a Roundhead mare, Heber, 1761, p. 130); and as both of them were racing in England as late as October 1761, neither is so adjustable to the Carolina dates as to be of even conjectural interest here.

\*Tarquin made his appearance in Carolina on the extant record by an advertisement which Irving missed, viz:

[1762, October 2, S. C. Gazette]

'To be sold by private sale, the English horse Tarquin.

'Apply to Mrs. Croft or Probart Howarth'.

That as the result of this advertisement the horse was purchased by John Izard of Ashley River appears from Mr. Izard's

advertisement of him at stud for the seasons of 1763 and 1767, (neither of which gives breeding, the former being Irving's source of his conjectural and erroneous importation date), after which he disappeared. His memory is preserved by only a few Carolina pedigrees; *e. g.* (ATR, ii, 462; Bruce, i, 198):

'*Rapley's Atalanta*, b. m. 1800, by McPherson's Dictator [son of \*Mexican]: Rapley's Dutchess by [Pierce Butler's] Hero:\* \*Brutus: \*Tarquin: Huger's Old Prince'.

The other contemporary evidence for \*Tarquin is more significant. In March, 1765, Edward Fenwick started a b. c. named Tarquin for the Sweepstakes for colts and was beaten hollow by T. Lynch's Brutus colt Tristram Shandy, and the following year a Mr. Hartley suffered a similar fate, at the hands of Elliott's Kitty Fisher (by \*Cade), with a 'b. f. got by Tarquin'. The fact that Edward Fenwick was the owner in 1765 of a Tarquin colt which was foaled before Mrs. Croft's advertisement of 1762 suggests that \*Tarquin was an old horse in 1762, which had already been some years in the province; and it seems to follow that Fenwick imported and later discarded

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\* *Butler's Hero* seems to have come out of the New York stud of James DeLancey; and to have been the unnamed gr. c. 1766 advertised for sale in Charles Town, October 15, 1772, and then described as 'six years old, got by Hero [i. e., the b. c. 1757 by Holme's Y. Starling: Slipby mare, which was imported 1762 by J. Carlyle of Virginia and was stood by J. Smith at Elizabeth, New Jersey, 1763-67. See *Thoroughbred Record*, 8 January, 1928] out of a very fine English mare belonging to James DeLancey, Esq., of New York'.

There is no subsequent contemporary evidence for this colt except in pedigrees; but Edgar (p. 253) had a tradition from South Carolina that he belonged to Pierce Butler (*q. v.* p. 216) and that he came out of the DeLancey stud; whereupon he entered Butler's Hero as *got by DeLancey's Wildair* out of an imported mare. On this Bruce (i, 765, 79) went a step further and credited DeLancey's \*Cub mare with a foal named Hero by \*Wildair. In his analysis of the contemporary evidence for the produce of DeLancey's \*Cub-mare, published in the *Thoroughbred Record* (1915), Mr. John L. O'Connor rejects that credit, showing that the description of the Cub-mare in the advertisement of DeLancey's dispersal sale (1775) does not include any Hero among the produce of the Cub-mare there rehearsed; nor is any Hero to be found among the American get of \*Wildair rehearsed by Mr. DeLancey in 1774 (Pick, i, 209).

him. The facts that Mrs. Croft's husband stood Fenwick's Black-and-all-Black in 1760 and that Mr. Izard advertised \*Tarquin at the comparatively low stud fee of five pounds currency tend to bear out these suggestions.

3. \**Y. Black-and-all-Black (breeding not identified)*: The earliest extant horse advertisement in South Carolina was not of the first imported horse. It was as follows:

[1760, March 29, S. C. Gazette]

'Mr. Fenwicke's English horse Black-and-all-Black will cover mares this season, for three guineas each mare, at Mr. Croft's plantation upon Charles-Town Neck from the 8th inst. to the end of the season.'

This was followed by another similar advertisement for 1761, when the horse stood 'at Mr. Branford's plantation on Ashley River' and so the entire contemporary record of this horse was made.

A search of the Carolina Racing Calendar for clues to his identity yields only the facts that in 1764 Benjamin Webb started a ch. c. named Crab; in 1768 Thomas Nightingale advertised for sale a three year old filly by Williamson's \*Cade, 'her dam by Black-and-all-Black', and in 1770 the Colt Plate at Strawberry was won by Benjamin Waring's bay colt Home-spun by \*Pharoah, and it was noted that that colt had also 'won the Plate at Georgetown by the name of Oronoko'.

This combination of names among descendants of \*Black-and-all-Black is persuasive that that horse was of the family of Pantons Crab, which had made all those names famous; but there is no evidence to prove who he was.

Perhaps it was the name of the Waring colt which persuaded Dr. Irving (iii, 38, whence Bruce, i, 42; Edgar had the same tradition from an earlier source) to call Mr. Fenwick's horse 'Oronooko' and identify him with the breeding of Lord Portmore's well known horse of that name; but since the advertisements of 1760 and 1761 have been turned up there can no longer be any doubt of the error of that identification; for Lord Portmore's Oronoko (bl. c. 1745, by Crab: Miss Slam-

erkin, GSB, i, 137) is recorded by Heber's lists and by Pick (i, 370) to have been covering in Yorkshire as late as 1762, or after Fenwick's Black-and-all-Black was advertised in Carolina.

The same argument from dates estops a claim that Fenwick's \*Black-and-all-Black might have been alternatively that elder brother (bl. c. 1743) to Ld. Portmore's Oroonoko who was known both as Black-and-all-Black and Othello; for the last record of him (Heber, 1760, p. 155) is that he covered at Stockbridge, co. Hants, in 1760, or the same season that Fenwick's imported horse was advertised in Carolina (See the discussion of the identity of the Maryland horse Tasker's \*Othello in *The Roanoke Stud*, p. 53).

It seems most likely, then, that Fenwick's imported colt was a son of the Portmore Oroonoko; but whoever he was he proved a disappointment in America.

4. \*Pam, b. c. 1757 by *Martindale's Regulus*: out of a *Cade mare*: On May 7, 1761, Mr. Ward's b. c. Pam, 4 yrs. (i. e., foaled 1757), made his first public appearance at Epsom, when he won a Fifty. Thereafter in the colours successively of Lord Bolingbroke (who called him Va-tout) and Mr. Wildman he pursued a successful turf career; until at last he was retired after being decisively beaten by Mr. Sotheron's Elephant (also by Regulus) at Newmarket on October 6, 1763 (See Heber, 1761, 1762 and 1763). He was then immediately consigned to Edward Fenwick in Carolina and arrived in time to be advertised for the season of 1764, as follows:

[1764, February 18, S. C. Gazette]

'Pam, Mr. Fenwick's English horse, will begin to cover the 12th day of April next, at his plantation on John's Island, at fifty pounds currency each mare, for the season, and a dollar for the groom'.

[1764, March 3, S. C. Gazette]

'Mr. Fenwick's English horse Pam is of very high blood, and was esteemed a fine horse in England: His performances are noted in Heber's Calendar, and may be seen at Mr. Nightingale's with his pedigree.'

'In 1761, he won at Epsom fifty pounds, at Winchester fifty pounds, at New-Market one hundred and seventy guineas and at Barford fifty pounds. In 1762 he won fifty pounds at New Market; and in 1763 he won two King's plates of one hundred guineas each; one at Guilford, the other at Canterbury; carrying twelve stone weight, four mile heats. He is now six years old and free from blemish.

John Thailoway, groom'.

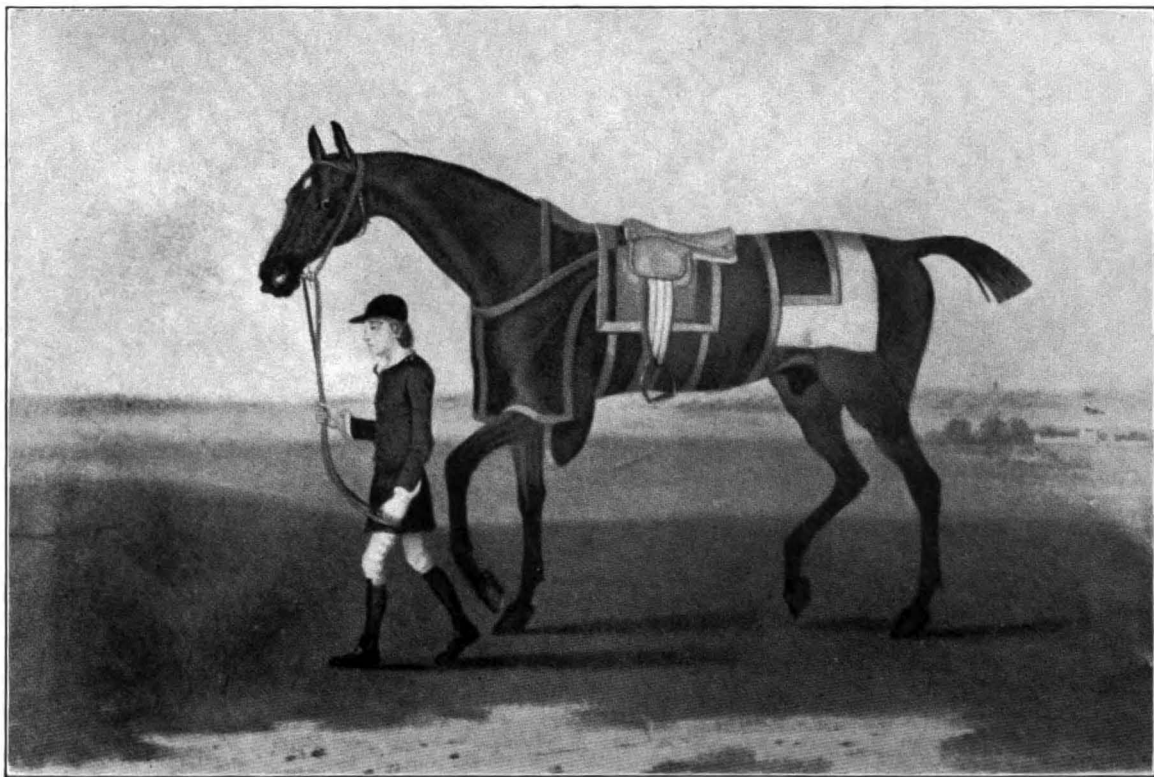
There was no subsequent advertisement of \*Pam; and as 'Col. Howarth's roan filly got by Pam [out of a Brutus mare], 3 years old' which was started for the Charles Town Colt Plate in February, 1769, and was the g. dam of W. Washington's Shark, is the only record of his get on the Carolina turf, it is probable that the only season he made in America was that of 1764 and that he died immediately thereafter. Thus Mr. Fenwick suffered in Pam his third successive disappointment.

It will be noted that the advertisement of Pam did not state his breeding, making reference only to a pedigree in the hands of Mr. Nightingale. That he was by Regulus appears from Heber; but Heber nowhere identified his dam. There was in consequence a confusion in the subsequent authorities. Pick (i, 270) describes him (probably in confusion with an earlier Regulus colt of the same name, 'the Duke's Pam', later Sir John Moore's, which raced as a 5 year old in 1760) as 'out of a daughter of Babraham'. Irving (iii, 39) had, however, the tradition that Pam's dam was by Cade; and so he appears enrolled in GSB (i, 382) where the pedigree is extended as:

'bred by Mr. Swymmer 1757, by Regulus: Cade: Sedbury: Scarborough Colt: Darcy's Woodcock: Blackatop: Old Smithson: Brimmer: Hautboy'.

Bruce (i, 41), taking his cue from Irving, duly entered Fenwick's Pam by the GSB pedigree.

5. \*Centinel, ch. c. 1758 by the Ancaster Blank out of Naylor by Cade: This colt was bred by the Duke of Ancaster;



LORD GODOLPHIN'S CADE, b. c. 1734, AFTER SEYMOUR

is entered in GSB (i, 145) as a ch. c. 1758 by Blank out of Naylor by Cade; Spectator's dam by Croft's Partner; and is there qualified 'sent to South Carolina'.

Pick (ii, 221) collected from Heber Centinel's creditable turf career in England in the Ancaster colours, viz:

- 1763 October, at Newmarket 'five years old' won a subscription purse of 160 gns., weight for age. R. C.
- 1764 October, at Newmarket, beat the Duke of Grafton's Confederate, a match for 100 gns.
- 1765 April, at Newmarket, unplaced in a Fifty.
- 1765 September, at Maldon, won a Fifty.
- 1765 October, at Maidenhead (then Mr. Bayley's), won a Fifty.

With this record Centinel made his appearance in America in the hands of Mr. Fenwick's agents, Robert & John Gibbes, who identified him by the following advertisements:

[1766, March 25, S. C. Gazette]

'The high bred English horse Centinel will begin to cover for the season, April 10th, at Mr. Robert Gibbes's plantation on John's Island at Thirty-five pounds each mare, and two dollars to the groom.

'Centinel is full 15 hands and an half high, is rising eight years of age, beautifully proportioned, and esteemed by judges one of the finest horses ever brought into America.

Francis Greensword.'

[1767, February 13, S. C. & American General Gazette]

'Centinel will cover this season at Mr. John Gibbes's plantation on John's Island at fifty pounds each mare and two dollars to the groom.

'Centinel was bred by the Duke of Ancaster, he was got by Blank, his dam by Cade out of Spectator's dam. As Centinel's performances in England are known by most of the sporting gentlemen of the country, it is needless here to repeat them.

Francis Greensword.'

In 1768 Centinel was not advertised, being then in training for his match with Wilkinson's Noble (son of \*Brutus) in which he beat that hitherto unbeaten colt and established a time record on the New-Market course, as is recorded in the Racing

Calendar (*post*, p. 120); but thereafter he was again advertised in the stud for four successive years:

1769-1772 'at John Gibbes' plantation (late Dr. Murray's) about 2 miles from Charles Town.

The advertisement of 1772 is the last to speak for Centinel categorically. Thereafter we must follow his career by deduction, by piecing together incidental references to him.

That Centinel remained in the hands of John Gibbes until after the death (1775) of Edward Fenwick, sr., and thereupon was transferred to Edward Fenwick, jr., to be included in his revived John's Island Stud, may be deduced from two testimonies: (1) an advertisement published April 21, 1779, by Henry Crouch, identifying his Y. Centinel as 'got by the famous horse Centinel, *late the property of John Gibbes, Esq.*'; and (2) the advertisement published in December, 1780, by Edward Fenwick, jun., of his purpose to put down his stud and offering for sale mares with colts 'from Flimnap, [Middleton's] Abdallah *and Centinel*'.

We know (*post*, p. 84) that \*Flimnap passed at this time from the John's Island Stud to that of Major Isaac Harleston, and on the subsequent evidence it may therefore be deduced that Centinel also had then recently been sold by Edward Fenwick, jun.; and that when Gen. Prevost invaded S. Carolina in 1779 Centinel was sent to Virginia. The removal of Flimnap to Willie Jones' stud on the Roanoke early in 1781 is an authenticated historical fact and the evidence for Centinel, while not so specific, supports a further deduction that he also was a refugee to the same region at the same time.

That evidence consists of:

(a) crosses relating to the years 1781 and 1782 by \*Centinel in several notable Virginia pedigrees, viz: Marmaduke Johnson's Medley mare, dam of Reality; Bignal's Lady Legs, dam of Carney's Collector and Ratler; Brodnax's (later W. Washington's) Rosetta, g. dam of Virginian; and



(b) an advertisement of 1786 (*State Gazette of S. C.*, October 12, 1786, quoted by Irving, vi, 160, with the erroneous date 1787) of the dispersal sale of the stud of William Richardson of the High Hills of Santee, including 'fourteen brood mares, several of which were purchased in Virginia and got by the noted horses Fearnought, Shadow, Lofty and Centinel'; the oldest mare by Centinel in this company being specified as four years old; i. e., foaled 1782.

The fact that Douglas Wilkins of Greenville county, Virginia, a well known horseman of the period immediately following the Revolution, had a Y. Centinel and that \*Centinel is usually styled Wilkins' \*Centinel in the Virginia pedigrees is persuasive that he it was who stood \*Centinel in Virginia, but no advertisement has come to light to prove this hypothesis.

Edgar (p. 24), who had the tradition of the Virginia stand, recorded also a tradition that \*Centinel died 'about 1784'.

6. \**Fallower*, ch. c. 1759 by the *Ancaster Blank* out of *Panton's Widdrington* mare *Spinster*: The surviving contemporary testimonies for this colt, indicating that he was imported with another Blank colt, Centinel, are as follows:

[1766, March 18, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

'Mr. Robert Gibbes's high blooded horse *Fallower*, lately arrived from England, will cover at Mr. Fenwick's plantation, John's Island, till the 15 of April next, when he will be removed to his Chichessey plantation at Ashepoo (where his pedigree may be seen) at five pounds sterling each mare, and a dollar to the groom, for the season, the money to be paid before the mares are covered'.

[1767, March 6, S. C. & American General Gazette]

'As Mr. Fenwicke is now selling off all his brood mares, &c., he will have no further use for a stallion; therefore will dispose of *Fallower*, a horse imported by himself the last year.

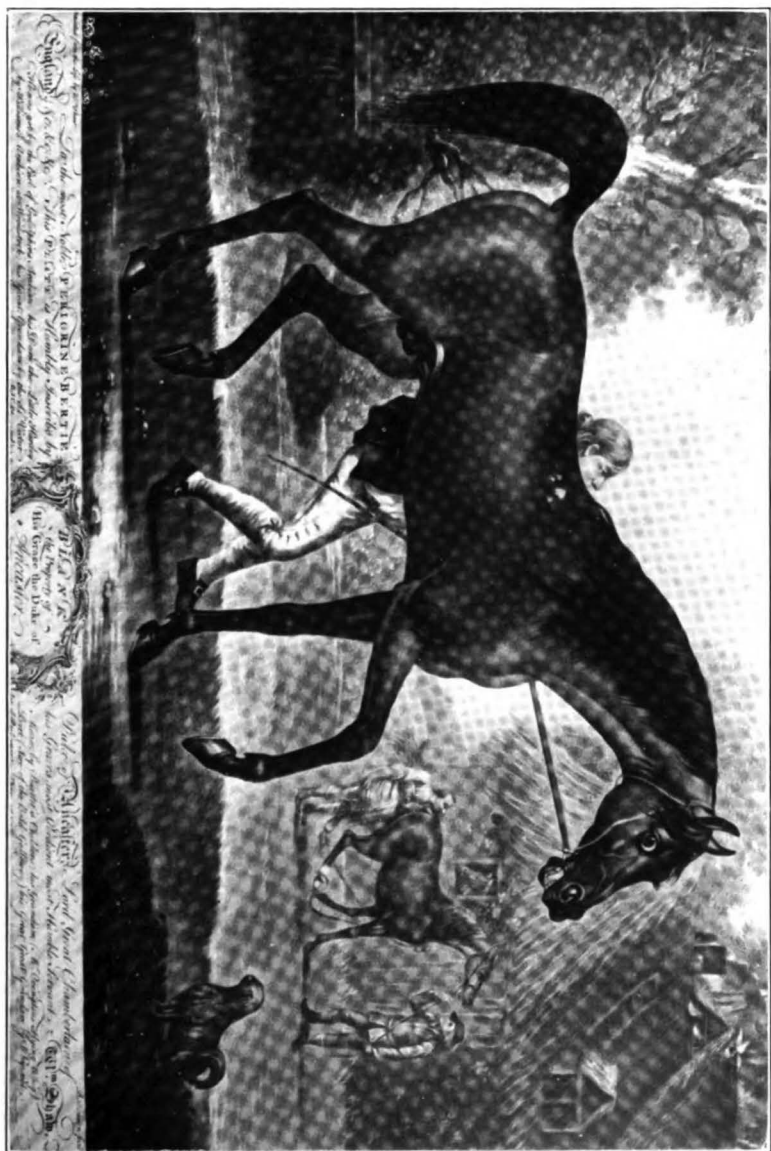
'He is esteemed of as high blood as most in England. He was bred by Mr. Panton, was got by Blank; his dam by Partner; his grand dam by Bloody Buttocks; his great grandam by Greyhound; his great great grandam by Makeless; his great great great grandam by Brimmer; his great great great great grandam by Place's White Turk; his great great great great grandam by Dodsworth; out of a Layton Barb mare.

'If Follower is not sold by the last day of March, 1767, he will be sent to Mr. Fenwicke's Chichessey plantation at Ashepoo, and will there cover at five pounds sterling each mare, for the season, and a dollar to the groom; where his pedigree (certified by the breeder) may be seen in the hands of Mr. John Gibbes, who will treat with any person that should be afterwards inclined to purchase the said horse'.

No Follower of this (or any other) breeding is to be found in any of the English source books (the Racing Calendar, Pick, or GSB); but Heber records, from 1763-1765, a *Follower*, ch. c. 1759, bred by Mr. Panton and got by Blank, viz:

- 1763, September, at Swaffham, Norfolk, in a Fifty for Four years old 'Mr. Panton's ches. c. Follower by Blank' ran second to Ld. Orford's bay colt *Commodore*, also by Blank.
- 1764, May, at Newmarket, in a match, B. C., Ld. Orford's bay h. *Ghost*, by Blank, beat 'Mr. Vernon's ches. h. Follower by Blank'.
- 1764, June, at Ascot in a Fifty for Four and Five years old 'Mr. Vernon's ches. h. Follower, 5 yrs. old' ran third to Mr. Latham's Snap and Mr. Wildman's Granby.
- 1764, October at Newmarket Mr. Vernon's Follower received 100 gns. forfeit from H. R. H. the Duke's Barabbas.
- 1765, April, at Newmarket in a Sweepstakes, B. C., 'Mr. Vernon's Follower' was beat by Mr. Shafto's Broomstick.
- 1765, May, at Newmarket, 'Mr. Vernon's Follower' entered for a Sweepstakes which was off by consent.

As Fenwick's \*Follower appeared in Carolina the season following the disappearance of Vernon's Follower from the English turf, and as both were described as bred by Mr. Panton and got by Blank, this evidence might suffice for an identification of the horse under two names; but to complete the identification it remains to prove the breeding of Panton's Follower on the dam's side, and to check that breeding against Mr. Fenwick's certificate for his \*Follower. Happily, a further record has come to light which is conclusive on that point. Mr. Fenwick's certificate of 1767 that his \*Follower was not only 'bred by Mr. Panton' but was the produce of one of the several fillies bred by John Crofts of Barforth in Yorkshire, from matings of his Bay Bloody Buttocks (GSB, i, 40) with his great sire



Partner. This narrowed the field of identification of \*Follower's dam to the two daughters of Bay Bloody Buttocks which were sometime included in the Panton stud, viz: the noted Widdrington mare Spinster, ch. f., foaled 1735 (GSB, i, 197; Pick, i, 62; & cf. Heber, 1763, p. 118, where Mr. Panton certified that he retained her as a brood mare), and her anonymous full sister, foaled 1739, which was eventually included in the stud of the Duke of Grafton (GSB, i, 151; Pick, i, 283). While Weatherby's stud records of these two mares showed that they were both mated with Blank, GSB does not record any colt of 1759 out of either; and it was thus possible for Bruce, by guess, to record Fenwick's \*Follower as a foal of the 'Sister to Spinster'.<sup>7</sup> As it happens, this was an unlucky choice, for Mr. Prior has now found in the MS. *Duke of Devonshire's Tryal Book* (See *Early Records*, p. 159) a contemporary entry of a 'Trainers' Lot' at Newmarket in the spring of 1763, which included among other horses there and then in training 'Mr. Panton's ches. c. Follower, four years old'; and noted his breeding as by Blank out of the Widdrington mare.

The fact that Follower had such a distinguished dam is the credible explanation of the persistence with which Messrs. Panton and Vernon raced the colt, despite his failures on the turf, and also why Mr. Fenwick acquired him for the stud; but no explanation has been forthcoming as to why Mr. Fenwick changed his name; if indeed the Follower of the Carolina advertisements was not a mere typographical misinterpretation of the English certificate which came to America with Follower.

The identification of his dam is not the only genealogical problem which Follower left to posterity. With the advertise-

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<sup>7</sup> Irving's note (iii, 40) on Follower, based on the Carolina advertisement of 1767, which was the source of the entries by Wallace and Bruce, did not attempt any interpretation of the pedigree. It remained for Wallace (p. 155) by deduction not by proof, to identify Follower as *either* the 1761 or 1763 foal (recorded by GSB) by Blank out of Panton's 'Sister to Spinster' of 1739. Bruce (i, 21) followed that lead and plumped for the foal of 1761.

ment of 1767 he disappeared from the record. Diligent enquiry has failed to discover any further stud advertisement for him either in S. Carolina, Georgia, N. Carolina or, finally, in Virginia.

Because of the suggestion, which was adopted by Bruce (*s. v.* Saltram mare, ii, 286) and is now 'official', that Fenwick's Follower was the mysterious 'Follow' or 'Fallow' of the Virginia pedigree of Wynn's Timoleon (that equine Man in the Iron Mask) and so the key to one of the quarterings of the escutcheons of Boston and Lexington, the ever narrowing hope has persisted that some corroborative evidence might come to light to prove that Follower preceded Centinel, Shadow and Flimnap to Virginia. The ingenious argument for this, which takes advantage of the weakness of the record, is that there is no evidence for Follower in Carolina after 1767; that none of his get is listed on the Carolina turf before racing was suspended by the American Revolution, nor has his name turned up in any Carolina pedigree; that in fine he early disappeared from Carolina so completely that O'Brien Smith of Ashepoo, one of the most active of the Carolina turfmen of the generation following the Revolution, had no tradition even of the name of Fenwick's Follower and so could confuse him with Thomas Singleton's imported dray horse Fallow, which Edgar (pp. 204, 368, 507) introduced into the literature of the Timoleon pedigree. From these premises it is deduced that when Mr. Fenwick sold Follower in 1767 the horse was sent away from Carolina, probably 'to the northward', where he could most conveniently meet a Vampire mare.

It is hardly necessary to point out that most of this argument might be urged in support of a simpler explanation, that, like Black-and-all-Black and Pam, Follower failed to become acclimated in Carolina and died there after the season of 1767, an early victim of a Carolina summer.

*The Timoleon pedigree:* At the beginning of the nineteenth century Benjamin Jones of Greenville County, Virginia, was a horseman and breeder of high repute in the Roanoke Valley, then the 'racehorse region

of America'. That the respect of his colleagues was genuine appears from the colour of the testimonies later recorded by well known writers who had known him and his stud. Thus A. J. Davie (ATR, iii, 275), sometime the owner of Sir Archy, hailed Mr. Jones as the breeder of Timoleon; Judge Williams of Tennessee ('Panton') averred (AF, ix, 414; ATR, v, 462) that he knew 'the success of Ben Jones' stock and his reputation as a breeder'; and J. J. Harrison (ATR, i, 575) added that 'all Mr. Jones' stock ran. They stand No. 1 in the Calendar of America'. Among others Mr. Jones owned a mare by Syme's Wildair (son of Baylor's \*Fearnought) and bred her to \*Saltram, that great son of O'Kelly's Eclipse who was brought to Virginia in the autumn of 1799 by William Lightfoot of Charles City County, and disappeared after two seasons (1800 & 1801) in the stud. The filly foal resulting from this mating (the 'Saltram mare' of Bruce, ii, 286) was in turn bred to two other imported winners of the Epsom Derby Stakes, Hoomes' \*Diomed and Haxall's \*Sir Harry, as also to three of Diomed's Virginia-bred sons, Wilkes' Potomac, Davie's Sir Archy, and Ball's Florizel; producing for Mr. Jones three stout colts (Gibbon's Constitution, Wynne's Timoleon, and the Enterprise entered in Cottom, 1830) and two fillies (Betsey Haxall & Jenny Cockracy). As the blood of these fillies eventually was included in the foundation stock of Dr. E. Warfield's notable early Kentucky stud (ATR, i, 363), the breeding of the Saltram mare became of importance to horsemen long before the days of Boston and Lexington, and the evidences for it were therefore scrutinized about 1830.

Unfortunately, it was then found that Mr. Jones had not been called upon to record in detail the history of his Saltram mare; and if he had kept a stud book it was not produced. The tradition of his family on the subject might have been of aid, but that also was not invoked and has now been lost. Mr. William Beasley, of Baltimore, a great grandson of Benjamin Jones, recorded in 1930 that he remembered having heard his grandfather, Robert Rivers Jones, rehearse memories of the Saltram mare, but that he was then too young to take in the purport of what was said.

In this state of the material, the available source record is the breeder's certificate for Timoleon, first published in a stud advertisement of that great racer and sire in the *Raleigh Register*, March 5, 1819, as follows:

'Timoleon was gotten by the noted and famous horse Sir Archy: his dam by the imported Old Saltram: his grandam by Old Wildair: his great grandam by the full bred horse Driver: his great great grandam by the imported horse Follow: out of a Vampier mare.

Benjamin Jones'.

Subsequent certificates, bruited before 1830 by J. J. Harrison & W. R. Johnson (both eminent horsemen, but neither distinguished as a genealogist) for other descendants of the Saltram mare, translated the 'Follow' of the original Jones certificate into 'Fallow' and in that form the cross came to be generally recorded, even in the most authentic of the several contradictory pedigrees under which Timoleon stood (ATR, ii, 310). As no horse could be found to fit this description, the pedigree of the Saltram mare remained in doubt. When, therefore, Dr. Irving (iii, 40) published his note of Fenwick's \*Follower, some interested breeders from the stock of the Saltram mare were quick to suggest, on the evidence of name only, that Fenwick's imported horse must have been the 'Follow' or 'Fallow' of the Timoleon pedigree. Although John S. Skinner, in his old age is reputed to have questioned the identification as unproved, Wallace, later, (*Stud Book*, pp. 155, 384) asserted roundly that on Irving's evidence for the existence in Carolina in 1767 of an \*Follower the doubt as to the Timoleon pedigree 'may be considered settled in history as well as reason'; and eventually Bruce also accepted and recorded what, despite Wallace's dictum, remains no more than an hypothesis; and thus exposed himself to a truculent (and we believe unmerited) charge of bad faith by Capt. Thomas B. Merry (*The American Thoroughbred*, 1905, p. 198).

Many of the traditional horse pedigrees deriving from the Roanoke Valley before the days of Stud Books are undoubtedly in confusion, but only a rash and superficial student of the available evidence for them dare adjudge generally (as 'Frank Forester' did) that they are without foundation. When one of them is cited by a respectable horseman like Mr. Jones for such a sterling individual as Timoleon it is the student's task rather to attempt to find an explanation.

In this case that explanation is, it must be confessed, difficult. In support of the Wallace-Bruce hypothesis that the 'Follow' of Benjamin Jones' certificate for Timoleon was Fenwick's \*Follower, it is necessary to assume that Follower survived at least four, and more probably ten, years after his importation in 1767, and somewhere met a Vampire mare foaled not earlier than 1767; i. e., the year after Vampire's first stand in Virginia. Having negotiated that assumption, we might then assign dates to the various crosses in the Timoleon pedigree, as follows:

Timoleon, by Sir Archy, foaled	1813
Saltram mare	1801
Wildair mare	1795
Driver mare	1789
Follower mare	1777
Vampire mare	1767.

This would still leave the necessity of identifying a Driver who was active in the stud in 1788. Fortunately that is not so difficult. Most of the discussions of the Timoleon pedigree have credited that cross to Dr. W. Thornton's \*Driver, b. c. 1794, by Ld. Egremont's Driver out of Thornton's \*Dorimant mare, a horse well known because he is in the Stud Book. But even when Bruce's erroneous entry (i, 18) of his foaling year is corrected, Thornton's Driver is, like all the other Drivers which have been suggested (ATR, v, 330), subject to criticism from dates, and must be abandoned. There is, however, an available Driver which has not yet found his way into the Stud Book, viz:

*Moultrie's Driver (son of McCarty's Cub)*: In the advertisement (1786, March 29, VG or American Advertiser) of the dispersal sale of the stud of William Brent of Richland in Stafford county, Virginia, then recently dead, there was offered:

'A remarkable fine Cub colt, rising 4 years old [i. e., foaled 1782] about 15.2 hands high. His dam was — — — ; [his grandam was] got by Col. Baylor's imported Fearnought out of Mr. William Brent's noted [Old] Ebony. Ebony's sire was Col. Tasker's (of Maryland) Othello: her dam, his noted Selima both imported'.

The pedigree thus stated was mangled by the printer and is incomplete; but it suffices nevertheless to identify the anonymous colt sold at the Brent sale in 1786 as the Driver who was introduced in Carolina three years later by the following advertisement:

[1789, April 14, Charleston City Gazette or the Daily Advertiser]

'Driver will cover at Mr. William Moultrie's plantation, near Dorchester, at three pounds a mare, and one dollar to the groom.

The brown horse Driver, foaled in May, 1782, was got by [McCarty's] Old Cub; out of [Brent's] Young Ebony by [Spotswood's] Don Carlos [son of Hamilton's \*Figure]; out of [Brent's] Young Selima by Old Fearnought; out of Mr. William Brent's noted Ebony by Col. Tasker's (of Maryland) horse Othello; out of old Selima, both imported from England by him'.

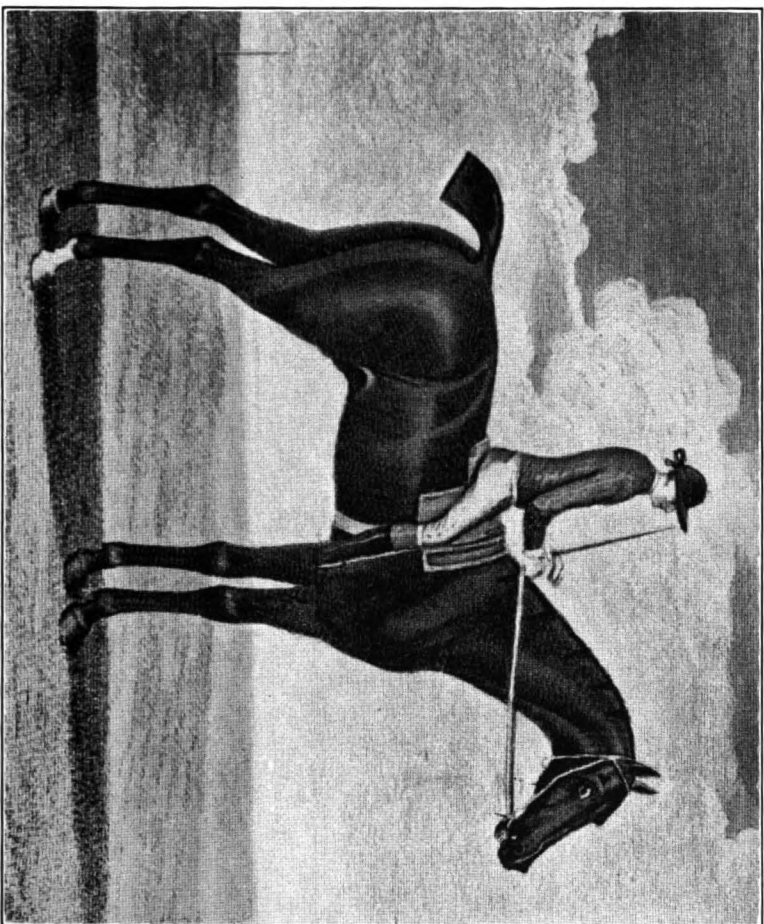
Enroute to South Carolina, this Driver may well have sojourned in the Roanoke Valley between 1786 and 1789, years for which no North Carolina newspapers are extant. His breeding certainly justifies a description of him as 'full bred', which is the language of Mr. Jones' certificate.

7. \*Shadow, b. c. 1759 by Rogers' Babraham out of Sister to Grey Starling, by the Bolton Starling: As will appear from



the Carolina advertisement hereinafter cited, this was the b. c. 1759 got by Babraham out of Ld. (later Duke of) Northumberland's Bolton Starling mare, which is described by GSB (i, 202) as 'Sister to Grey Starling', and by the Carolina advertisements as 'Sister to the Duke of Northumberland's Perseus'. These specifications serve to identify Shadow's grandam as Edward Leedes' Coughing Polly by Bartlet's Childers, whose produce, as listed in GSB (i, 63), included both Grey Starling and Perseus; and so confirms the extended pedigree, derived by Edgar from Armistead Burwell of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, which was followed by Wallace and Bruce. While entered, the colt here in question is not named, in GSB (i, 202); but it appears from his English turf record that he was first called Vizier and later Shadow. That turf record was as follows:

- 1763    October    At Newmarket    'Ld. Northumberland's Horse got by Babram, dam by Starling' won a Subscription of 200 guineas (£1400) over the Duke's Course, one Four Mile heat [Heber, 1763, pp. 56, 81, 101].
- 1763    *ibid.*    (Second meeting)    'Ld. Northumberland's b. h. Vizier, 4 years old' ran unplaced in a Subscription which was won by Mr. Shafto's Specimen [Heber, 1763, p. 61].
- 1764    October    At Newmarket    'Ld. Northumberland's b. h., 5 years old, by Babram' ran unplaced for 100 gns., weight for age, which was won by Ld. Bolingbroke's Prophet [Heber, 1764, pp. 65, 115].
- 1765    April    At Newmarket    'Ld. Northumberland's Vizier' beat Mr. Shafto's Specimen a match over the B. C. for 300 gns. [Heber, 1765, p. 4].
- 1765    *ibid.*    'D. of Kingston's b. h. Shadow, late Ld. Northumberland's Vizier' placed second for a Fifty for 5 yr. old, B. C. [Heber, 1765, p. 4].
- 1765    October    At Newark    'The D. of Kingston's b. h. Shadow, 6 yrs. old' started for a Fifty, won the first heat and 'fell in the 2d heat', being thereby 'distanced' [Heber, 1765, p. 63].



MR. ROGERS' BARRAHAM, b. c. 1740-1760

- 1766 March At Newmarket 'D. of Kingston's b. h. Shadow, 6 years old' started for a Fifty for 6 yr. olds, unplaced [Heber, 1766, p. 2].
- 1766 August At Chesterfield 'D. of Kingston's b. h. Shadow, aged', ran second for a Fifty [Heber, 1766, p. 43].
- 1766 October At Newark 'D. of Kingston's b. h. Shadow, aged', unplaced in a Fifty for aged horses [Heber, 1766, p. 75].

After the racing season of 1766 'the D. of Kingston's b. h. Shadow' was sent to Carolina on consignment to Edward Fenwick, then in the province. When he arrived he apparently did not suit his new owner for he was at once offered for sale by the following advertisement, viz:

[1767, June 2, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

'Just arrived in the ship Rose-Island, and to be sold by Samuel Grove, a fine English stallion called *Shadow*, got by Babraham. . . . *Shadow* is now rising eight years old. He is to be seen at Mr. Nightingale's up the Path'.

The horse was not sold; but, being left in the skillful hands of Mr. Nightingale, survived his first American summer and the next season was advertised in the stud; when his breeding was recorded as follows:

[1768, February 23, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

'To cover this season at Walnut Hill plantation, by Slann's bridge, near Dorchester, at three guineas a mare, and twenty shillings the groom, the fine bay horse *Shadow*, full 15 hands and 1 inch high, 9 years old next May and no more. He was formerly the property of the Duke of Northumberland, but lately belonged to the Duke of Kingston. In 1763 he won the 1400 guineas sweepstakes at New Market, and in 1765 he beat Mr. Shafto's Specimen, at the same place, for 300 guineas.

'*Shadow* was bred by Mr. Edward Leeds, in Yorkshire (the original certificate to be seen in the hands of the subscriber); he was got by Babram, his dam was full sister to the Duke of Northumberland's Perseus (and full sister in blood to Lord Portmore's Skim), by Starling; his grandam by Bartlett's Childers, and called Coughing Polly; his great grandam by Counsellor, and was full sister to Meynell's Thunderbolt.

Babram was got by Lord Godolphin's late Arabian, out of his Lord-

ship's large Hartley mare. Babram is the sire of Atlas that beat Careless, got by Regulus, who was never before beat; also is the sire of [Gorge's] Juniper [imported 1761 into Virginia, by John Syme], Wildair [i. e., the Duke of Hamilton's Wildair, br. c. 1753, *q. v.* Heber, 1757, pp. 10, 59, 94], Alcides, Fair Rachel, and many other racers of high form.

Thomas Nightingale'.

This advertisement did not reckon however with Thomas Nightingale. Before the breeding season of 1768 had begun he had Shadow in training, for all that he was then rising nine years old. The confidence was justified for during the next three years Shadow won all four of the races in which he started, and only retired definitely, *in his eleventh year*, after issuing a public banter, never accepted, 'to run with any horse in the province'; his only condition being that weight should be limited to 9 stone. Shadow's colonial racing trophies in 'aged' form were therefore:

- 1768 March The Subscription Plate at Beaufort, Port Royal.
- 1768 April The Mechanics' Purse of £200 at New-Market Course, Charles Town.
- 1769 February A match with W. H. Drayton's Adolphus by \*Brutus, four mile heats, at New Market Course.
- 1770 February The Charles-Town Plate at New Market Course.

In the summary of his last race the horse was described as 'Mr. Fenwick's bay horse Shadow', a qualification which, when read with his stand for 1770, indicates that after T. Nightingale's death in November, 1769, Mr. Fenwick took the horse into his own hands. But Shadow did not long remain in the John's Island Stud, for his owner soon went once more for England and Shadow was farmed out. His Carolina record is completed by advertisements of the following stands:

- 1770 'at Mr. Fenwicke's plantation on John's Island until March 15 and thereafter at Mr. Fenwicke's plantation Chechessy, at Ashepoo'.

- 1771 at Col. Singleton's plantation, Goose Creek.  
1772 at Benjamin Singleton, Esqr.'s plantation in St. James, Goose Creek.  
1773 no record.  
1774 at the plantation of David Oliphant, Esqr., near Dorchester.

No evidence has come to light of what Shadow did or where he was during the Revolution, but we know that he survived the war. That he was not immediately 'sent to the northward' like Centinel and Flimnap to escape capture by a marauding enemy (whether Tory or Whig, for in the kind of civil war which Carolina experienced both parties had strongly developed appetites for horse flesh) may be deduced from the appearance on the Carolina turf in 1784 of 'Bellinger's Y. Shadow, 3 years', for that seems to be a testimony that \*Shadow was still in Carolina in 1780; but eventually the old horse (now twenty-two years of age) made his way to Southside Virginia. Although we have no Virginia advertisement of him in the stud, the testimony of Advocate (AF, x, 71) and of Edgar, from Southside tradition which knew not whence he came, is that Shadow stood sometime in Mecklenburg County at the plantation of Thacker Burwell (1752-1783), and this is supplemented by the evidence of a Shadow cross in several Virginia pedigrees and by William Richardson's advertisement of 1786, quoted *s. v.* Centinel.

Edgar's date for Shadow's stand in Virginia, 1771, was obviously one of his notorious misprints: the dates for Bellinger's Y. Shadow and for Thacker Burwell suggest that it must have been 1781; but Edgar's record, on information derived from Armistead Burwell, that Shadow was a 'slim pale-bay horse' is a convincing description. It was Advocate who adjudged on his own knowledge that in Virginia Shadow 'produced capital speedy and bottomed stock, and amongst the rest, Galba'. This finds support in the fact that a full brother to Galba, also out of Thacker Burwell's mare (by Jolly Roger: Lyncurgus: Monkey) was William Green's Y. Shadow.

8. *\*Matchless, br. b. c. 1754 by the Godolphin Arabian out of the dam of Danby Cade by Soreheels*: This colt bred by Thomas Panton of Newmarket, 'Keeper of the King's Running Horses', is an example of the extraordinary longevity of the Godolphin stock. The entry for him in GSB (i, 196) notes that he was 'sent to South Carolina and died there about 1786', when he would have been thirty-two years old. If on this record Matchless did not attain the thirty-four years attributed to his 'nephew', the Virginia \*Janus, he had probably another and greater distinction of that nature. In the Carolina advertisements of 1783 and 1784 of his late born son, Bee's Sultan, \*Matchless was described as 'the last surviving son of the Godolphin Arabian', and this was probably justified, for the last survivor of the other sons of the great foundation sire recorded in GSB (Ld. Rockingham's Godolphin Colt, also of the last crop of 1754) died at Wentworth, 1781, aet 27.

Matchless was duly trained as a four year old, but apparently did not develop speed, and to that fact probably owed his subsequent good health. He made his appearance on the record at Newmarket in April and October, 1758, as 'Mr. Panton's Bay Colt', starting in two Sweepstakes, in one of which he was placed second, in the other third (Heber, 1758, pp. 6, 72, 115); and these were the only times of his running. His significant *dossier* begins, then, with his earliest advertisement in the stud, which first recorded his name and identified his breeding, viz:

[Heber, 1759, p. 148]

'To cover next season at New-market at 10 guineas a mare and 5s. to the servant, Mr. Panton's Brown Bay Horse, now rising 6 years old, called Matchless, a horse of great size, strength and beauty, very healthy, and free from natural blemishes. He was got by the E. of Godolphin's Arabian, his dam by Soreheels, which mare was the dam of Danby Cade, and was out of the late Sir Ralph Milbank's famous Black Mare, which was the dam of several high formed racers, and of Capt. Hartley's Blind Stallion, who got Babraham's dam, and was got by Makeless, out of a Royal Mare, esteemed the highest bred mare in England.

'N. B. Soreheels was got by Basto, the highest bred son of the Byerley Turk, and was full brother to Little Scar (a horse in a very high

form) and to the dam of Bay Mott, Crab, Black-legs, Second and Snip. His Grand Dam was got by Pelham's famous Bay Barb, and was the dam of Old Partner, and full sister to the Mixberry Galloway.'

It was the diligent, if not always accurate, Pick (i, 413) who compiled the following summary of Matchless' stands and get in England during the ensuing fourteen years:

*Matchless* was a stallion at Newmarket in 1759 and 1760, at 10 gs. and 5s. He was sold to Mr. Brown, and covered at Scarborough in 1761, 1762, and 1763, at 5 gs. and 5s.; at Grimthorpe, Lincolnshire, in 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, &c. at 5 gs. and 2s. 6d. He afterwards covered at Mr. Edmondson's in Newmarket, and it was remarked, that 'he was a horse of great size, strength, and beauty'. He was sire of [Mr. Osbaldeston's Ragman; Mr. Meaburn's Betty-O, and of] the Duke of Ancaster's Lucan; also of Mr. Meynell's Trinadado, Lord Barrymore's Countess, Mr. Freeth's Tardy, Lord March's Matchless, Mr. J. Tuting's Brush, Mr. Hanbury's Nameless, and of Mr. Blake's Dove, that bred Brunette, who was the dam of Lord Clermont's Cat, Cantator, Trumpator, Cordelia, Harpator, Jubilator, Pipator, Drumator, &c. Matchless likewise got the dam of Lord Bolingbroke's Grig, the Duke of Bolton's Chose, Giant, Hackwood, &c.'

In 1773 Matchless is picked up again at the age of nineteen, with the beginning of his American record, as follows:

[1773, January 7, S. C. Gazette]

'The famous running horse *Matchless* is brought over in the ship Carolina from London, having been purchased by the Hon. Edward Fenwicke now in England'.

[1775, March 13, S. C. Gazette]

'*Matchless* covers this season from the first of April next, at Edward Fenwick's, Esq. on John's Island for five guineas a mare and a dollar to the groom. . . .

'It is needless to mention his pedigree, being a son of the Godolphin Arabian, as may be seen in Heber.

Anthony Edward, groom'.

After the death of his importer in 1775 Matchless was sold, and thereafter there are records of stands in 1776 and 1777 'at Mr. Edmund Cossens' plantation on the Horseshoe, at thirty-

five pounds [currency = £5 sterling] per mare'; but except as his progeny spoke 'the rest is silence'.

And the fact is the American progeny of Matchless have not spoken loud. The intervention of the Revolution, suspending organized racing in Carolina, necessarily limited the turf reputation of his immediate get; and the only subsequent advertisements of them in the stud were (1783-84) of Bee's Sultan, already mentioned (a b. c. 1775 out of Fenwick's \*Fanny) and (1790) a grandson, Thornton's Adonis, by an unidentified 'noted sire Old Crab: his dam by Matchless, the best bred son of the Godolphin Arabian'. The fact that Irving (p. 38) noted Matchless and his breeding accounts for his entry by Bruce, but the fact that Irving did not colour his notice is probably evidence that his blood was not remembered on the Carolina turf in Irving's day, the early years of the nineteenth century. Certainly there are few pedigrees still current which carry a Matchless cross.

9. \**Flinnap*: In October, 1768, at Newmarket, Sir John Moore won a Fifty with a three year old bay colt of his own breeding which he then described as 'Flinnap, got by his South' (Heber, 1768, pp. 85, 125), and so introduced a horse destined to a romantic as well as a distinguished career in America. His breeding was later extended by GSB (i, 73) as follows:

'*Flinnap*, b. c. 1765, by South [son of Regulus]: Sir J. Moore's Cygnet mare, dam of Florizel (GSB, i, 73; Pick, ii, 67): Y. Cartouch: Ebony by Childers: Old Ebony by Basto: the Massey mare.

'Bred by Sir J. Moore and sent to South Carolina';

and Pick (ii, 66) collected his English turf form as follows:

- 1768 October, at Newmarket, won a Fifty for 3 yr. olds: after which he was sold to Peter Wentworth.
- 1769 April, at Newmarket, beat Blake's Whirligig three matches over the B. C., the first two for 200 gns. each, the third for 500 gns.
- 1769 August, at York. Ran second to Holyhock for Subscription Purse for 4 yrs. old: after which he was sold to Sir W. W. Wynn.



- 1769 September, at Lincoln. Won a Fifty.  
1769 September, at Lichfield, ran four heats against Warwickshire Wag.  
1769 November, at Holywell, won a Fifty.  
1770 May, at Chester, won a Fifty.  
1770 June, at Nantwich, won a Fifty.  
1770 June, at Bridgnorth, ran four heats against Barry's Y. Davy.  
1770 September, at Shrewsbury, won a Fifty, beating Y. Davy.  
1770 October, at Stafford, started for a Fifty (won by Allsteel) and was thrown down by a boy on horseback in the second heat and so distanced.  
1771 August, at Conway, won a Fifty, beating Allsteel.  
1771 September, at Shrewsbury, started for a Fifty and fell lame, after winning the first heat.

Flimnap reached Carolina in the autumn of 1772, but neither then nor later was there published any introductory advertisement, telling who he was and who was his importer. Fortunately, Irving (iii, 41) supplied this lack by tradition, viz:

'At the sale of Sir W. W. Wynn's stud, Mr. Mansell of the firm of Mansell, Corbett & Company of Charles Town, purchased Flimnap and shipped him to South Carolina, a little prior to the Revolution, where he beat all the best horses of the country, among others Mr. Nightingale's celebrated black horse Careless'.

There is no surviving evidence for Flimnap's victory over the 'celebrated black horse Careless' so noted, nor, indeed, for the identity of any such horse; and as Thomas Nightingale, the keeper of the New Market Course at Charles Town, had died several years before Flimnap came to America, leaving no son to carry on his turf interest (See his obituary in *S. C. Gazette*, 14 November, 1769), it is possible that there is some confusion in the detail of Irving's statement; but the substance of it is certain for we are enabled to pick Flimnap up in 1773 in a contemporary record (rehearsed in the *Racing Calendar, post*, p. 130) on the occasion of his appearance upon the American turf.

The formal record of the remainder of the life history of Flimnap is contained in advertisements of his stands in the stud, as follows:

- 1774 at Mr. Ferguson's plantation, Spring Grove, in St. Paul's parish.
- 1775 at Mr. Hezekiah Maham's in St. Stephen's parish.
- 1776 no record.
- 1777 at Mr. Isaac Macpherson's plantation on Horseshoe Savannah in St. Paul's parish.
- 1778 at Mr. Edward Fenwicke's on John's Island.
- 1779 at Mr. Edward Fenwicke's on John's Island.
- 1780 no record.
- 1781-82 at Willie Jones' at Halifaxtown, *North Carolina*.
- 1783 at Fishpond plantation near Strawberry-ferry.
- 1784 at Major Harleston's plantation in St. Thomas' parish.
- 1785-91 no record.
- 1792 at the plantation whereon Major Harleston resides.
- 1793 no record. Died January, 1794.

Irving (iv, 42) supplied from tradition, to illustrate this record, the details which have made of Flimnap a revolutionary as well as a turf worthy. He took up the story at the 'end of the year 1780', or immediately following the advertisement of December 20, 1780, under which Edward Fenwick, jun., sold Flimnap (See p. 98); and shows the horse then in the possession of Major Isaac Harleston at his house on the eastern branch of Cooper river. Harleston was a Whig, and as he lived within two miles of Silk Hope, where Lord Cornwallis was then making his headquarters, the British soon heard of the proximity of the horse they had known as Fenwick's. Irving continues:

"Tarleton made repeated efforts to get possession of Flimnap, but unsuccessfully, the negroes remaining faithful to their charge. The horses were led out, on the approach of the enemy, and concealed in the swamps. One morning a detachment from the British camp seized one of the stable boys, and tried, by every possible artifice, and promises of rich rewards, to make him point out the spot where the horses were concealed,

particularly Flimnap, but nothing could extort the secret from him. At length they threatened to hang him, and did actually suspend him from the limb of a tree before the house. They then retired, leaving him for dead. As soon as they were gone one of the servants about the house ran out and cut him down. Life was found not to be extinct, and he was, after assiduous care and attention, resuscitated.

'As soon as it was considered safe to venture through the country, a trusty groom belonging to Major Harleston, removed Flimnap into North Carolina, where he continued until South Carolina got rid of her invaders'.

This statement that Flimnap was a refugee on the Roanoke River is confirmed not only by the several notable Virginia pedigrees in which Flimnap is a cross (See Bruce, *s. v.* 'Y. Flimnap' and 'Flimnap mare'), but by the following testimony from A. J. Davie, who as a boy had seen the horse on the Roanoke and recorded the only adequate description of him (ATR, iii, 272):

'*Flimnap*, imported, got by South, was a bay with black legs, mane and tail, about 14 hands, 3 inches high: his form long and strong. His stock were speedy as distance nags, and generally beautiful. About the close of the Revolution he stood at Mr. Willie Jones', Halifax, N. C.'

The Carolina advertisements show that immediately after the evacuation of Charles Town by the British, Flimnap was recalled to the place from which he had fled, and thenceforth lived out his life in the Harleston family. The date of his death is, happily, authenticated by an obituary, which shows that he attained the ripe age of twenty-nine, viz:

[1794, January 14, Charleston City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

'*Turf News*: Died at Irishtown in the parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis the noted racehorse Flimnap'.

(c) *Six English Mares.*

To one who has explored the mass of material for the English horse stock in Virginia and Maryland prior to the American Revolution, the strongest impression derived from study of the

pedigrees which have survived in South Carolina from that period is the lack of emphasis put on the foundation mares.

Considering the care with which those pedigrees identify the crosses of English horses, this reticence may indicate that a larger proportion of the early turf stock in Carolina was derived from Chickasaw taproots than in the colonies 'to the northward'; but the fact that Bruce did not credit to Carolina any English mares before the Revolution\* does not justify a further deduction that all the Carolina racers descended from native stocks. The evidence of the Carolina Racing Calendar and the surviving Carolina pedigrees directly contradicts any such deduction as that; but it reveals the curious fact, most interesting in relation to the present study, that, other than the matrons included in the John's Island Stud, only two English mares, Mayrant's Dutchess whose breeding is not known (See p. 179), & Bee's Regulus mare (imp. 1772 with Bee's \*Snipe by Snap; and dam by Snipe of the Y. Snipe adv. 1783) may be identified as in Carolina before 1775.

The six English mares imported by Edward Fenwick, which may be identified and thus have peculiar historical significance, were worthy of that preeminence. All of them were as nobly bred as any of the galaxy of historically noted equine colonial dames (Tasker's Selima, DeLancey's Cub mare, Wormeley's Mary Grey, and Braxton's Kitty Fisher), and one of them (the Squirt mare) seems to be entitled to admission to that select company also by the quality of her produce.

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\* Bruce did enter (i, 71, 131) Fenwick's Brilliant and Tartar mares, but he credited them both to Virginia. The relative immortality of these two mares in the *American Stud Book* is not due, however, to that erroneous credit any more than it is a recognition of Edward Fenwick as a pioneer breeder; nor is it even due to any contemporary claim of superior merit of the individual mares. Indeed, it is not the result of any process of selection at all. The distinction is a consequence of the casual fact that the mares in question were represented by descendants in the post-revolutionary stud of William Alston, of which a public record was made in 1829. Bruce seems to have argued that as it was known that Mr. Alston derived some of his best stock from Virginia, he must have drawn it all from that fountain.

These mares came to America in three installments, each pair showing the importer's steadily increasing appetite for concentrated blood of the Godolphin Arabian, viz:

- 1762 The two earliest mares (by Squirt and Tartar), representatives respectively of Bartlett's Childers and Croft's Partner, were apparently selected to nick with the Godolphin blood of Brutus, as they triumphantly did.
- 1766 The next pair (by Brilliant and Bajazet) were representatives respectively of Panton's Crab and the Godolphin Arabian, while
- 1773 the final pair (by Villager and Merlin), intended to be mated with Matchless, were, like him, both straight Godolphins.

They were all duly mated with their contemporaries among the English horses in Carolina who were their peers in breeding, but no adequate or in any sense comprehensive record survives of their stud careers. We have testimonies for only some of their produce; notably that of the Squirt mare. It is curious and perhaps significant that later pedigrees did not play any of them up with such a chorus of historical retrospect as would certainly have been raised if they had gone to Virginia. The witty pen of John Davis, the English tutor who was in the Drayton family at the very time (1799) most of the Virginia historical pedigrees were put together, might, indeed, have used this illustration to point his remark that 'Cotton in Carolina and horse racing in Virginia are the prevailing topics of conversation: these reduce every understanding to a level'.

On the other hand, it may be that the lack of detailed testimony for the John's Island mares is merely casual. Most of the surviving evidence for them is derived from certificates made by Edward Fenwick, jun., after the Revolution. By comparison of those certificates with the evidence for the maker's own racing activities it will be apparent that we have but a small part of all the certificates he may have given. In addition to those turf horses which are hereinafter noted because we know their breeding, the Racing Calendar shows that Edward Fenwick, jun., introduced the following colts and fillies

on the turf: 1788 Adventurer, Cleopatra; 1789 Cincinnatus, Dungannon; 1790 Oronoko, Busiris; 1791 Angelina; 1792 Boxer; 1793 Pantaloon; 1794 Aeolus; 1798 Highflyer. Bruce had no record of any of these horses and we have been unable to supply the want. That they were all high bred is apparent both from the fact that Fenwick trained them and from their turf form. It is probable that he himself bred most of them and so it seems to follow that if we had their breeding it might be possible to extend the list of the produce of the Fenwick imported mares.

It seems expedient to note here that the advertisement of 1767 by Edward Fenwick (*ante*, p. 69) of his intention to put down his stud during a prolonged absence in England did not result in any break in the continuity of his breeding operations in Carolina. At that date there seem to have been at John's Island, with 'bred up' representatives of the Chickasaw foundation stock, all of the first four imported mares (by Squirt, Tartar, Brilliant and Bajazet), as well as some brood mares of their produce. Detailed evidence is lacking as to what was sold in 1767; but there is evidence that the Stud was carried on until 1773 by Robert and John Gibbes, later Mr. Fenwick's executors, and the importations of 1773, made in contemplation of Mr. Fenwick's return from England, were thus not a foundation for a new Stud, but a refreshment of a stock on hand. So it was that when the importer died in 1775 and his son succeeded him, the breeding plant was as fully equipped with English blood as ever it had been. The inventory then recorded (See p. 96) suggests, indeed, that it included at least two English mares, in addition to those here listed, which are not identified by later pedigrees.

The records now ascertainable of the six English mares so noted are therefore as follows:

1. 1762? \**Squirt-mare*, by Lord Portmore's Squirt (son of Bartlett's Childers and sire of Marsk. See Pick, i, 52), out of a uterine sister to the dam of King Herod.

This mare is peculiarly interesting because, as noted above, her blood lines were closely parallel with those of the great King Herod. As she was exported while still a filly and left in England no record on the turf or in the stud, she missed recognition by GSB; and so the source record for her breeding is the earliest advertisement of her son Noble, viz:

[1767, March 23, S. C. Gazette; whence Irving, p. 37; whence Bruce, i, 39]

[Wilkinson's] *Noble* [ro. c. 1763; i. e., he raced as a 3 yr. old 1766] was got by Old Brutus: his dam by Squirt: his grandam (dam of Merry Batchelor) by Starling: his g. grandam (dam of Scampston-Cade, &c.) was got by Bethel's Arabian: his g. g. grandam by Graeme's Champion: his g. g. g. grandam by Darley's Arabian, who was the sire of Flying Childers.

This reference to Ld. Rockingham's Scampston-Cade (br. c. 1747, *q. v.* Pick, i, 125) points at once to Sir W. St. Quentin's Salome (or Selima) by Bethel's Arabian (GSB, i, 16); but the reference to Merry Batchelor is not such a convenient pass key. There is no Merry Batchelor at all in GSB; nor does Heber identify any of the four colts of that name who were on the turf from 1756-1767 as having a Starling mare as a dam. But, turning again to GSB (i, 16), we find that Salome is credited with two fillies by the Bolton Starling. One of these (that of 1752, GSB, i, 201) is at once eliminated from the present consideration, but the other may well have been our quest. She achieved no separate entry to list her produce, but Weatherby has a note that she 'bred a f. by Tartar'. We must, then, be content to deduce that she also bred a colt by Y. Cade (Sir W. Dalston's Merry Batchelor, b. c. 1758; whose dam was not recorded by Heber. See Pick, i, 284); and, finally, a filly by Squirt which was sent to Carolina.

The following is a tentative list, based on pedigrees, of the Squirt mare's

*Identified produce:*

- 1762 f. [grandam of Goldsmith's Fearnought, advertised 1768]  
by \*Black-and-all-Black.  
1763 ro. c. Wilkinson's Noble by \*Brutus [See p. 185].  
1764 b. c. Lynch's Hotspur by do.

2. 1762. \**Tartar mare* [no record of coat or foaling date], by D. of Ancaster's Tartar (son of Croft's Partner) out of a uterine sister to Pratt's Old Squirt mare.

The source record for the breeding of this mare is a certificate by Edward Fenwick, jun., recorded in the Stud Book of William Alston of Waccamaw, viz:

[ATR, i, 571; whence Irving, iv, 8, 163; whence Bruce, i, 131]

[Alston's] *Tartar mare*, bred by Mr. Edward Fenwick [II], foaled in 1780, got by Old Flimnap; her dam by Old Pharoah: her grandam (imported by Mr. Fenwick's father) got by Tartar; her dam by Young Sweepstakes; grandam by Mogul; g. grandam by Bay Bolton; g. g. grandam by Pulleyn's ch. Arabian; g. g. g. grandam by Rockwood; g. g. g. g. grandam by Bustler.

The breeding here attributed to the imported mare indicates her grandam as the D. of Bolton's Mogul mare, now entered in GSB (i, 142), with the attribution of two foals, viz:

- 1750 the famous 'Pratt's Old Mare' (q. v., i, 243; GSB, i, 199) by Squirt.  
1751 a colt Lot by Y. Sweepstakes.

We may therefore fairly deduce that the Mogul mare produced also a filly by Y. Sweepstakes and that that filly (not recorded in GSB) was the dam by Tartar of Fenwick's \**Tartar mare*.

It will be noted that when checked against GSB the Carolina pedigree lacks a cross; that between the 'g. grandam by Bay Bolton (i. e., Camilla, gr. f. 1722 which was sister to the Bolton Starling, GSB, i, 4) and the 'g. g. grandam by Pulleyn's ch. Arabian' (i. e., Ld. Carlisle's Old Lady, GSB, i, 15) there



should have been interposed, the D. of Bolton's 'Son of Brown-low Turk mare' (GSB, i, 4). This defect, like the attribution of the taproot to Bustler instead of to the Helmsley Turk is, however, a warranty that the Fenwick pedigree was contemporaneously traditional, not subsequently constructed; for (as GSB, i, 15, noted) those are both characteristics of the eighteenth century pedigrees of the stock derived from the D. of Bolton Stud.

*Identified produce:*

1769? f. [grandam of Alston's Tartar mare] by Drayton's \*Pharaoh.

3. 1766. \**Brilliant Mare* [no record of coat or foaling date], by William Croft's Brilliant (son of Panton's Crab out of a daughter of the Godolphin Arabian): out of a granddaughter of Ld. Halifax's Bushy Molly.

The source record for the breeding of this mare is the Stud Book of William Alston of Waccamaw, interpreting a certificate by Edward Fenwick, jun., viz:

[ATR, i, 571; whence Irving, pp. 7, 163; whence Bruce, i, 71]

[*Alston's, later McPherson's*] *Brilliant Mare*, bred by Mr. Edward Fenwick [II], foaled in May 1779, got by the imported horse Matchem: her dam (imported by Mr. Fenwick's father) by Brilliant: grandam by Tartar: out of a daughter of Lord Halifax's Bushy Molly, which daughter was got by a son of the Devonshire Flying Childers: g. grandam by the chestnut Litton Arabian: g. g. grandam by King William's White Barb, called Chillaby: g. g. g. grandam by the Byerley Turk: out of Sir William Ramsden's ch. Farmer mare.

In the process of tradition to the Alston Stud Book the upper brackets of this pedigree were somewhere confused. As stated by GSB (i, 45) and Pick (i, 158), the key breeding should have read (as Bruce noted) as follows:

*Ld. Halifax's Old Bushy Molly*, ch. f. 1717, by the Litton Arabian: Sir William Ramsden's Farmer Mare (GSB, i, 9) by Chillaby: Byerley Turk: Spanker.

This discrepancy is doubtless accidental, but it enhances the difficulty of interpretation of the lower brackets of the pedigree. The GSB record (i, 45) of the produce of Old Bushy Molly does, indeed, include a filly by a 'son of the Devonshire Flying Childers'; i. e., Grisewood's Y. Bushy Molly, b. f. 1737, by Hampton Court Childers, but the extended record of that mare in the stud does not show her to have been bred to Tartar. It seems more likely that the grandam of Fenwick's \*Brilliant Mare was Old Bushy Molly's undated filly which GSB describes as 'by a son of Bartlett's Childers'. Who shall say whether the error is that of the Fenwick certificate or of GSB?

William Croft's Brilliant is recorded (Pick, i, 158) in the stud from 1758 to 1772. The Fenwick mare must have been among his earliest get.

*Identified produce:*

1779 f. [Alston's Brilliant mare] by Fenwick's \*Matchem.

4. 1766 \**Bajazet mare*, gr. f. 1762, by Lord March's Bajazet (son of the Godolphin Arabian); out of an unidentified mare.

No pedigree of a descendant of this mare has come to light to reveal her dam. The evidence for her in Carolina is confined to two entries in the Racing Calendar, viz:

1766, March 18 'Mr. Fenwick's English filly' ran unplaced for the Jacksonboro Plate for three year olds.

1767, February 3 'Mr. Fenwick's grey filly, 4 years old (got by Bajazet, bred in Old England)' was placed second for the Charles Town Plate.

As Irving made no record of Fenwick's \*Bajazet mare, Bruce had no entry for her. She must, therefore, be distinguished from

(a) Abraham Barnes' Bajazet mare (dam of Heath's Childers), which was imported into Maryland and is entered by Bruce (i, 67); and



LORD MARCH'S BAJAZET, b. c. 1740

(b) the Bajazet mare which appears as a cross in the pedigree of Commerce, who stood in the stud of Edward Fenwick, jun., 1796-98.

(c) the Bajazet mare which appears as a cross in Carolina pedigrees (e. g., of Bee's Sultan) as the dam of Fenwick's \*Fanny.

Neither of these last two Bajazet mares was ever in America.

There is no evidence for any produce of Fenwick's \*Bajazet mare.

5. 1773 *\*Villager Mare* [no record of coat or foaling date, but not later than 1766] by the Duke of Ancaster's (later D. of Bridgewater's) Villager (son of Cade & Miss Partner): dam by the Cullen Arabian.

That this mare was sent to Carolina by Edward Fenwick, sr. (then in England) in 1773 with \*Matchless and the \*Merlin Mare, and brought with her, as a suckling, her colt \*Matchem by Stamford's Bosphorus appears from an advertisement for \*Matchem when he made his first appearance in the stud; which is also the source record for the breeding of the Villager mare, viz:

[1777, May 1, S. C. & Am. General Gazette; ATR, vi, 634, whence Bruce, i, 36]

'*Matchem* will cover this season at Edward Fenwicke's plantation on John's Island for 35 l. currency each mare.

'*Matchem* is full 15½ hands high, of a bright bay, now rising five, and was sent from England in the year 1773, by the late Edward Fenwicke Esq. He was got by Bosphorus: his dam by the Duke of Bridgewater's Villager: his grand dam by the Cullen Arabian: his great grand dam by Regulus: his great great grand dam by Old Crab: his great great great grand dam by Old Snake: his great great great great grand dam by the Bald Galloway: out of a Curwen Barb mare'.

No mare by the Cullen Arabian has been found to fit this pedigree, but back of her the identifications are certain. Beginning with the grandam attributed to the imported mare, the pedigree may be read, more particularly, as follows:

'*Sir H. Harpur's Sister to Stanhope's Miss Cape, alias Y. Blackeyes* (GSB, i, 219, 130; Pick, i, 461) by Regulus: Routh's Blackeyes, alias

Babby (GSB, i, 88, 219 & cf. Prior, *Early Records*, pp. 58, 34) by Ld. Portmore's Crab: Capt. Worlock's (later Routh's) Galloway'.

[Like the Matchem advertisement, GSB (i, 18, 15) extends the pedigree back through Lister's Snake, and Ld. Carlisle's Old Lady, but Mr. Prior questions this, noting that in his private stud book Cuthbert Routh 'gave no pedigree of' his Worlock Galloway Mare.]

*Identified produce:*

1772 b. c. \*Matchem by Stamford's Bosphorus.

[Before 1834 the tradition of the breeding of this colt seems to have been lost among Carolina horsemen (cf. ATR, vi, 634): certainly Irving did not have before him either the advertisement of 1777 or the certificate of 1788 to the same effect, signed by Edward Fenwick II, which was published in ATR in 1834. The consequence of that lack was that Irving felt it necessary, by an ingenious use of GSB, to *construct* an identification and described (iv, 6) this Matchem as the anonymous b. c. 1773 by W. Fenwick's (of Bywell) Matchem out of Lady by Turner's Sweepstakes, a colt entered in GSB (i, 110) as Lord Grosvenor's.

Because of his just respect for Irving, without criticism of the evidence, Bruce (i, 36) added this identification to his previous entry, derived from ATR; and so the official ASB records two breedings for the same imported horse.]

1774 f. (dam of Gibbes' Y. Flimnap, b. c. 1779) by \*Matchless.

6. 1773 \*Fanny, *alias* Merlin Mare, b. f. 1768, by Sir J. Moore's Merlin (son of Second out of a sister to Blank): dam by Bajazet (son of the Godolphin Arabian).

The source record for this mare is an advertisement of her son Sultan, got in Carolina in 1775 by \*Matchless while he was still standing in the John's Island Stud, viz:

[1783, March 22, S. C. Weekly Gazette]

'[Bee's] Sultan will cover at Bee's savannah near Jacksonborough from the first of April, at five guineas a mare, and a dollar to the groom. . . .

'Sultan is a bright bay about 15 hands high, seven years old this grass, and was got by Old Matchless, the last surviving son of the Godolphin Arabian: out of Fanny, a full blooded imported mare.

'Fanny was got by Old Merlin: her dam by Bajazet: her grand dam by Old Cade: her great grand dam by Old Traveller: her great great grand dam by [Rainbow, son of] Bloody Buttocks, his [i. e., Rainbow's] dam by Bay Bolton, his [i. e., Rainbow's] grand dam by Commoner.

'Fanny is own sister to Spavins, whose performances were well known to the lovers of the turf in 1772.'

This reference to Sparrow's Spavins who was on the turf in England from 1770-1773 and won the Gold Cup at Chester in 1772 (Pick, ii, 339) serves to identify Fenwick's \*Fanny without need of interpretation for we find her entered, if anonymously, in GSB (i, 29) among the produce of the Bajazet Mare, which was Spavin's dam.

The pedigree may therefore be re-stated to read:

*Fenwick's \*Fanny*, b. f. 1768 by Merlin: Bajazet (GSB, i, 29): Cade: Traveller: Croft's Rainbow (son of Bloody Buttocks out of a Bay Bolton mare. See GSB, i, 382; Pick, ii, 339).

It would be difficult to find a mare more thoroughly drenched with the blood of the Godolphin Arabian.

*Identified produce:*

1776 b. c. Bee's Sultan by \*Matchless.

(d) *During and After the Revolution.*

The will (p. 38) of Edward Fenwick provided for the dispersal of his stud, as follows:

'It is my will and direction that my Executors do put up to sale as soon as conveniently may be after my decease all the horses which I have at any time imported from England (my coach horses excepted) and all the horses and colts bred from them';

and the inventory, taken as of 26 September, 1775, listed the stock then at John's Island to which this provision was applicable, as follows:

[*Charleston Probate Court. Inventory Book 1772-1776, p. 625*]

*Horses*

The bay horse Matchless	£300
A chestnut colt by Centinel	250
A bay colt by Matchless	100
A black English dray horse	80

*Mares [imported]*

Bay mare Dutchess, with her colt	£250
Gray mare Fanny (injured)	70
Villager mare, with her English colt	350
Chestnut mare Molly, with her colt	400
Bay mare Molly, with her colt	500
Chestnut mare Charlotte	350
Bay Sultan filly	500
Bay Hunting mare, with her colt	200

*Mares [Carolina bred]*

Bay filly out of Hunting mare	£250
Bay filly by Matchless	200
Bay filly by Matchless	250
Bay mare Lady, with her colt	150
Filly out of Lady by Shadow, 3 years old	50
Dun mare Jenny	60
Toad, with her colt	150
Dun mare Cate, with a 2 years old filly	150
Chestnut mare Rose, with her colt	150
Small black mare, with a filly 5 years old by Shadow	100

There is no record of the dispersal sale, but we know from the evidence of pedigrees that Matchless passed out of the John's Island Stud at this time and that the eldest son, Edward Fenwick, jun., who inherited Fenwick Hall and the John's Island savannah on which the stud had been maintained, bought in the three English brood mares of most recent importation (i. e., those got by Brilliant, Villager and Merlin), besides several Carolina bred brood mares of the produce of their predecessors, got by Matchless, Pam and Brutus.

With the mares he acquired also the Bosphorus colt, now rising three years, which had been imported in 1773, then still

suckling his dam the Villager mare; and in 1777, when this \*Matchem was four years old, young Fenwick advertised him at the head of a revived stud (See p. 93).

That Fenwick raced his Matchem after the season of 1777 and became disgusted with him, is probable. Detail is lacking but we know (p. 132) that, despite political taboo, racing was then carried on; and the evidence is that before the season of 1778 (when Matchem was advertised by Gen. William Moultrie) Fenwick had traded that colt for another, of less distinguished breeding, known by tradition as Middleton's Abdallah (See p. 207).

The discard of \*Matchem did not however imply a diminution of young Fenwick's plans for breeding for the turf; for during the same year (1778) he restored the prestige of his stud by the acquisition of the two best known English stallions then in Carolina, viz: his father's \*Centinel, who for some years had been the property of a kinsman, John Gibbes (See p. 67), and \*Flinnap (son of a full brother to his father's \*Matchless), then the property of Isaac McPherson (See p. 84). Those noted horses both made important contributions to Fenwick's young stock,<sup>9</sup> but he did not have time to realize upon them.

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<sup>9</sup> Of the get of Flinnap in the John's Island Stud during the two years (1778 and 1779) he stood there we have four records:

R. Gibbes' Y. Flinnap, b. c. 1779, by \*Flinnap: \*Matchless: Fenwick's \*Villager-mare; not known to the American Stud Book but certified by Robert Gibbes' advertisements 1783 to 1785.

R. Thompson's Diomed, another colt not known to Bruce; of whom the only record found is in Virginia advertisements (1795-1800) of his son, Thornton's Whistlejacket, b. c. 1788 (quoted in *The Roanoke Stud*, p. 87), wherein that colt, purchased by John Thornton on the turf in S. C. in 1793, was described as 'by Diomed, a thoroughbred son of Col. Fenwick's imported Old Flinnap'. This Diomed was doubtless bred on John's Island out of one of the Fenwick English mares, but which one we do not know.

W. Washington's Flinnap mare, foaled 1780, bred by E. Fenwick, jun.; by \*Flinnap: \*Pam: \*Brutus. This mare was the dam of Washington's Shark (got in Virginia by \*Shark) which was advertised in Carolina, with his breeding extended, in 1799 and following years.

W. Alston's Tartar mare (ATR, i, 571; Bruce, ii, 351), foaled 1780, bred by E. Fenwick, jun., and by him sold to Alston 1788; being then described as by Old Flinnap: Old Pharaoh: Fenwick's \*Tartar mare.



As we have shown elsewhere (p. 42), the British invasion of Carolina in 1779, followed by the capitulation of Charles Town in 1780, changed the whole tenor of Fenwick's life. So far as concerned his stud, the first evidence of distress was the following advertisement:

[1780, December 20, S. C. & American General Gazette]

'The subscriber, intending to embark for England early in the next spring, purposes to dispose of all his stud of running horses at private sale. They may be seen, with their pedigrees, at his plantation on John's Island; and if not sold by the first of January next, they will then be put up at vendue in Charlestown. The mares were imported from England and are of the highest blood. The colts are from Flimnap, [Middleton's] Abdallah and Centinel. . . .

Edward Fenwicke [junior]'

Fenwick sold Centinel and Flimnap, and doubtless some young stock, in pursuance of this advertisement, but he did not sell all his brood mares, nor did he 'embark for England'.

For eight years more he carried on the tradition, though his establishment was now diminished in size and importance. Finis to the John's Island Stud was written only in 1788, when as already noted, Fenwick Hall and the appurtenant John's Island lands were sold by decree of a court and passed forever out of the possession of the Fenwick family. At that time the late proprietor advertised a sale also in final dispersal of his stud, viz:

[1788, April 21, State Gazette of S. C.]

'To be sold, by private contract, the subscriber's stud and running horses. The mares are got by Old Flimnap, and the imported horse Matchem; their dams were brought from England by the late Edward Fenwicke, Esq: and are as high bred as any mares ever imported into America. They are now in foal by Mexican, Royal Oak; and [Gibbes'] Young Flimnap.

For further particulars enquire of the subscriber on John's Island.

Edward Fenwicke [junior]'

It was at this sale that William Alston of Waccamaw acquired the foundations of his notable post-revolutionary stud,

so that while the year 1788 may be said to end the history of an institution then thirty years of age, its influence persisted into the nineteenth century.

After his removal from Fenwick Hall, young Fenwick established himself on his Ashpoo lands. There if he was no longer a breeder in the grand manner of his father, he projected his interest in the turf for ten years; and it is a pleasure to record that during those years he lived in a sunset glow of success. As the animosities engendered by the Revolution cooled, he resumed his place in Carolina society. In 1788 he was elected to the Jockey Club (Irving, iv, 5); and from 1790 to 1798 his name appears regularly and frequently in the Racing Calendar as a consistently winning owner (See pp. 146 ff.).

It is interesting to note that during this period for a time he turned away from the descendants of his father's importations, which others still put first, to the Virginia blood which flooded Carolina during these post-revolutionary years. Two testimonies for this new interest, drawn from sources wide apart but both relating to Edward Fenwick, jun., in 1790, will suffice to make the point:

[1798, April 24, New Jersey State Gazette; ATR, iii, 320]

The celebrated horse Paragon will stand at the stable of John Stevens, Maidenhead Township, Hunterdon Co., N. J., four and one-half miles from Trenton; at \$12. the season.

*Paragon* is rising ten years old, a beautiful bay, 15.1 high, star and snip, black legs, mane, and tail. His colts, now rising two years old, in general are superior to those of any other horse and it is presumed his blood is exceeded by none as will appear by the following pedigree:

[*Breeders certificate*]

'I do hereby certify that the horse Paragon was bred by me and foaled in April, 1788 and sold at two years old to Col. Fenwick for 400 guineas. He was got by Old Flimnap; his dam Camilla by Col. Lewis Burwell's Traveler out of his famous mare Old Camilla, who was got by Old Fearnought out of a capital running mare imported by Col. Byrd called Calista.

Wade Hampton, Charleston, S. C., Feb. 17, 1795'.

[1790, March 24, Charleston City Gazette or Daily Advertiser. See record of stand in Md. 1788, ATR, ii, 312]

'The noted running horse *Fayette*, late the property of Presly Thornton, Esq. of Virginia, will cover mares the ensuing season at Col. John McPherson's near Pocotaligo, at four pounds the season, and five shillings to the groom.

'The performances of this horse on the turf, both in Maryland and Virginia, are so capital and numerous, it would be tedious here to mention them, beating all the most capital horses in his day, but he was unfortunately broke down.

'*Fayette* was bred by John Parke Custis, Esq., and was got by [Fitzhugh's] *Regulus*: his dam by the noted imported horse *Othello*, son of *Crab*; his grand dam by the imported horse *Juniper*; his great grand dam by Morton's *Traveller* out of the imported mare *Selima*, who was got by the Godolphin Arabian.

Edward Fenwicke [junior]'

But at the very end of his life he appeared again as sponsor for a Carolina bred horse, when for three years (1796-1798) he stood McPherson's *Commerce* (by *Cephalus*, son of \**Friar*, q. v. p. 214), a stout racer on which he put in many hours of training, as Irving testified in the pleasantest thing that was ever said of this unhappy man.

Enumerating the 'Bretheren of the Turf' of the immediately post-revolutionary period, Irving (iv, 167, 168) said:

'Gen. John McPherson and Mr. E. Fenwicke, were both staunch patrons and contributors to the sports of the turf, during a long racing career. They both owned many fine horses, which, from their intimate knowledge of horse flesh and condition, they were enabled to place with advantage. . . .

'[McPherson's] *Commerce* and [Washington's] *Shark*, I am told, were often tried against each other, and were so nearly equal, it was the opinion of competent judges that condition alone determined their superiority. This was confirmed, it is said, by the fact that whenever Mr. Fenwicke, who knew the temper and constitution of both horses well, trained *Commerce*, he beat *Shark*; and whenever he had the care and handling of *Shark*, *Shark* in his turn would beat *Commerce*'.

## CHAPTER THREE

### *The Carolina Racing Calendar*

**R***RACING in Carolina before 1760:* The earliest contemporary record of the sports of the turf in Carolina, is a series of advertisements of races to come, published in the *South Carolina Gazette*, following the definite re-establishment of that journal by Lewis Timothy in February, 1733/4. These notices prove that in the seventeen thirties the practice of horse racing was as well established in Carolina as it contemporaneously was in Virginia and Maryland; but that the sport had not yet been organized.

The earliest Carolina race meets seem to have owed their stimulus to the enterprise of tavern and ferry keepers, who offered prizes in order to attract custom to the houses of entertainment they had established at strategic points on the roads leading out of Charles Town. Thus it was that, even in the vicinity of Charles Town, the places of sport were scattered; those identified by the earliest advertisements being Mrs. Eldridge's Bowling Green House, Mrs. Partridge's Quarter House, John Gordon's at Ashley Ferry, John Burford's at the Ponds near Dorchester, William Marten's at Monck's Corner, and Stephen Marrauld's at Parker's ferry of Goose Creek [not Edisto]. As early as 1742 a fair, with racing, was held at Childsbury town, near the Strawberry ferry of Cooper River, where later the Harlestons and the Ravenels maintained a race course until 1822 (Irving, iii, 36).

These early meetings were community gala, and included various forms of sport; but it is significant that long before the organization of a South Carolina Jockey Club all the horse racing was conducted on an amateur basis. This is shown by the prizes offered; never money, but something to attract the gentry; e. g., 'a saddle, bridle, and furniture trimm'd with silver'; 'a silver hilted small sword'; 'a pair of silver spurs';

'a case of fashionable screw barrel pistols'. Thus a status was established and the wholesome consequence was that a 'fashionable silver punch bowl' or a 'silver tankard' soon became, as they remained until after the Revolution, the standard emblems of victory on the turf in Carolina; and survived to decorate the sideboards of many Carolina families (Irving, iv, 144).

As none of the advertisements of these early races was followed by printed news of the results, it is now impossible to name many of those then on the turf; but the occasional published exceptions to the entry of horses of proven prowess serve to identify some of those who were recognised as leading horsemen.

In 1743 'Mr. Raper' and 'Mr. McKevers' were of that class; while on another occasion are specified 'Mr. Carter's Chucklehead and Mr. Butler's Roger'. These names are valuable so far as they go, for they aid in establishing an historical perspective by indicating that in 1743 the magnates of the province had not yet taken up racing.

The mention cited of 'Mr. Butler's Roger' permits also another generalization: That horse was apparently the champion of 1743; and is more definitely qualified in the announcement of a match arranged between 'a horse nam'd Roger from Stono and a horse nam'd Batchelor from Ashley River'. It would be no more than a guess to assert, though it is probable, that these horses were Chickasaws; but the mention of the places where they were owned is significant because it testifies to the early development of the racing rivalry between the Goose Creek and Stono [or John's Island] communities, which persisted until long after the Revolution, and coloured much of what Irving wrote.

The year 1743, from which these testimonies are drawn, was one of great racing activity: there were, indeed, monthly meetings. The notices indicate that two places, which had assumed English sporting names, were then in a way to be recognised as centres; thereby revealing the first symptom of a centripetal force for organization of the sport. These were

John Hanbury's 'York Course' at the Old Quarter House near 'town', and, further north at Goose Creek, Robert Parker's 'Newmarket Course'. Parker's course was, however, soon superseded by another race field in the same neighborhood, identified in 1747 as 'the house of Isaac Perronneau, where Mr. Maurice Keating lately lived'; and thus an historical name became available for transfer to another and quite different 'New Market Course'.

*The first South Carolina Jockey Club, 1758-1773:* In 1758 a group of young men, Edward Fenwick, John Drayton, John Mayrant, John Izard, William Moultrie, Samuel Elliott, Daniel Horry, and William Williamson, all representatives of the best elements in the province, took the sport of racing in hand and organized it definitely on a subscription basis. Their advertisement of 1759 was of 'the Charles Town races', without indication of where they were to be held; but in 1760 that place was named as 'New Market Course'; specified in 1761 as 'Thomas Nightingale's' and thereafter as 'Newmarket near Charles Town'. It is thus clear that 'the house and course called New-Market, kept by Mr. Thomas Nightingale' (as specified in his obituary in 1769), was adopted as the official 'place of sport' as early as 1759 by the embryo South Carolina Jockey Club. Dr. Irving's valuable description (iii, 34) of this course was as follows:

'This Course was situated on the Common on Charles Town Neck, commonly known as Blake's Tract, through which the Railroad now runs, immediately on leaving the upper depot. The Course took in the whole of the unenclosed ground between King-street road and the low ground to the east of Meeting-street. Meeting-street road, however, did not exist in those days, and the starting-post was fixed at first at the north-west corner of the field on King-street road. It was afterwards moved, when the Meeting-street road was opened, to the western edge of the Meeting-street road, as it now exists, immediately on the rise of the hill, half-way between Mr. Paine's farm and the Lines. For many years, however, after the completion of the Meeting-street road, those two great outlets from the city, viz., the King-street road and the Meeting-street road, were known by no other appellation than the Big-path,

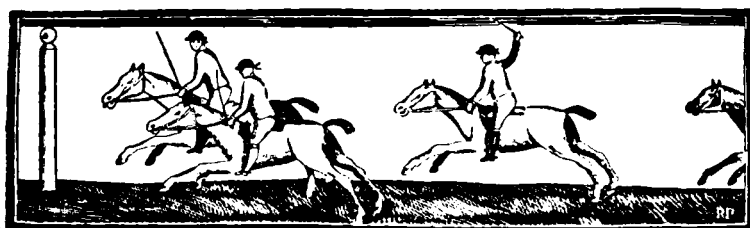
and the Little-path. Mr. Nightingale continued a lease of the property, on which he laid out the New-Market Course, until the year 1770, when he resigned it [he died in November, 1769] to Mr. [James] Strickland. The Course was very generally called Strickland's, whilst under the direction of that gentleman, but it was the same as the old New-Market Course.'

It is difficult today, even with this specification of landmarks, to identify the site of the Charles Town 'New-Market Course'; for it has been given over to industry; and lies amid the gaunt and unlovely surroundings of fertilizer factories, oil storage tanks, coal tipples and railroad tracks. It was not always thus however. If we would conjure the scene as it was in the days when Skim, Centinel and Shadow raced there against the sons of Brutus, we cannot do better than hark back to a description of the path up Charles Town Neck at the beginning of the eighteenth century; for the 'Broadway' of that time was the 'Broad Path' of the seventeen sixties, when it lead past the 'New-Market Course' to the Quarter House where the 'York Course' had been. It was of 1695 that Governor Archdale said:

'The country is beautified with odoriferous and fragrant woods, pleasantly green all the year, of the Pine, Cedar and Cypress, in so much that out of Charles-Town for three or four miles called the Broadway, is so delightful a Road and Walk of a great breadth, so pleasantly Green, that I believe no Prince in Europe, by all their art, can make so pleasant a Sight for the whole year'.

'The New-Market Course' was opened on the basis of a February meeting to be held each year; at which three races were contested, the Charles Town Plate, a Colt's Plate and a Sweepstakes. To this programme was added from time to time, as at Old Newmarket, matches to decide private wagers. It was not until 1763 that we have a full report of such a meeting; for Timothy, the publisher of the *South Carolina Gazette*, maintained a traditional reticence in the matter of reporting the results of racing until, happily, he was persuaded (perhaps by John Mayrant, whom he later called 'the Carolina Heber') to 'give the public what it wants'.

In reading the following record made thenceforth year by year without interruption until organized racing was suspended by the approach of the Revolution, it will aid understanding to recall that when it begins, the entire population of the province of South Carolina, which supported this racing, was no more than 35,000 white souls; for the tide of immigration to the 'up country', which had doubled that roster at the time of the Revolution, was in 1763 just beginning its flow.

**1759-1762**

[1759, February 17, S. C. Gazette]

Notice is hereby given, that the Charles Town races will begin on Tuesday the 20th instant.

[1760, February 2, S. C. Gazette]

Charles Town races begin at New-Market course, on Tuesday the 19th instant.

[1761, February 14, S. C. Gazette]

On Tuesday the 3d of March next, the races at Thomas Nightingale's will begin; when there will be a great deal of diversion.

There will also be cock fighting, and other sports.

*N. B. Several of Brutus's [See p. 59] colts will start.*

[1762 No announcement or report of racing at Charles-Town for this year has survived. That the usual races were in fact run at the New Market Course in February appears from the comment upon Mayrant's Skim in the report of the meeting in February, 1763.



The file of the *South Carolina Gazette* for 1762 is extant but affords no explanation of the reticence in this respect.]

### 1763

[1763, January 1, S. C. Gazette]

Charles Town races begin on Tuesday the first day of February next when will be the best sport that ever was known in this province. The first day by English horses. The second day by the blood of the famous horse Brutus. On the afternoon of each day there will be a very handsome compleat saddle run for, by any horses that are not of the English breed, one mile, three heats.

[1763, February 5, S. C. Gazette]

On Tuesday last was run for at Newmarket, near Charles Town, a subscription by horses carrying ten stone, and won by Daniel Huger, Esq's English horse *Skim* [See p. 179], winning the two first heats, beating *Starling* [See p. 183] and two others (who were both distanced), one of which was the famous chestnut horse, foaled in this country, the property of the honourable John Drayton, Esq., and from whom much was expected; indeed, he started and run a quarter of a mile in the form of a Childers, but could not maintain it; and the knowing ones were taken in. *Skim* this year hath taken ample satisfaction for the treatment he met with the last; having recovered himself, he beat his antagonists to the northward; not satisfied with that, and to convince others of his superior speed and game, he travelled to the south and proved successful: though *Starling* gave him much trouble the first heat, as it was won only by half a neck.

Before starting, even money *Starling* won the first heat; six to five, and five to four, the field against him for the plate: Even money the chestnut beat *Skim*; the same, he beat *Starling*. After the first heat, even money *Starling* won the second heat, and six to four *Skim* won the plate.

On Wednesday seven started for a subscription, six of them the blood of Brutus, and came in as follows:

The estate of Ralph Izard, Esq.'s horse <i>Brutus</i> got by			
Brutus, rising 4	2	1	1
Edward Fenwick, Esq.'s <i>Babraham</i> [by Brutus] 4	1	2	2
Edmund Bellinger, Esq.'s [ <i>Steady</i> , by Brutus] cream-coloured 5			distanced
Ditto [ <i>Surly</i> by Brutus] chestnut 4			"
Edward Fenwick, Esq.'s [c. by Brutus] cream 4			"
James Parsons, Esq.'s Filly [by Brutus] bay 4			"
Richard Beresford, Esq.'s black, with ten stone			"

The first was as fine a heat as ever was seen; the second a good one. Before starting *Babraham* against the field for the first heat; him against any three for the plate. After the first heat even money he won the second and three to one he won the plate. After the second heat five to one on Brutus.

A great match is depending between *Skim* and *Babraham* [by Brutus], to be run in October next, carrying weight for age, agreeable to the subscription at Newmarket in England, run for annually in October. [If this match took place no record of the result has survived.]

*Bellinger's Steady v. Izard's Y. Brutus* (both by Fenwick's \**Brutus*)

[1763, March 19, S. C. Gazette]

On Wednesday last the great match was run at New Market, between Mr. Bellinger's cream coloured horse *Steady*, rising five, and the estate of Ralph Izard, Esq.'s bay horse *Brutus*, rising four (both got by Brutus), catch weights the best of three two mile heats, and won hollow by the former. The odds were six to four, and two to one, on Brutus, before starting, who made a poor struggle to maintain the reputation he before acquired.

'Tis supposed the Dorchester gentry suffered much that day, and it is undubitable the knowing ones were taken in.

The second heat both were whipped from starting; but Brutus not being able to run one hundred yards with *Steady* in the race-ground, prudently retreated into the woods.

Mr. Bellinger's chestnut horse *Surly*, matched to run Mr. Fenwick's horse *Babraham* on the following day, paid forfeit.

[1763, December 3, S. C. Gazette]

Last Thursday a great sweepstakes was run for, round the

course at Edmondsburg, Ashepoo, the best of three heats, by horses, etc., and came in as follows:

Mr. Edmond Bellinger, jun's Chicasah mare			
Bonny Jane, rising 5 years old	1	2	1
Mr. Gibbes' English horse <i>Buzzard</i> (quarter part English blood)	2	1	2
Capt. Smith's English horse [Sharer]	dist.		
Mr. Coachman's grey gelding	"		
Mr. Cochran's Chicasah horse Childers	"		

The last heat afforded excellent sport, as the jockies whipped from starting to the ending post.

### 1764

[1764, March 10, S. C. Gazette]

On Tuesday the 21st ult. a Subscription Plate of upwards of three hundred pounds value, free for any horse, mare or gelding carrying eight stone weight, two mile heats, was run for on the course at *Ferguson's Ferry*, when the horses came in as follows, viz:

Mr. Charles Elliott's (late the Hon. Edward Fenwick's, Esq.'s) <i>Babraham</i>	2	1	1
Mr. Izard's bay colt <i>Brutus</i>	1	2	2
Thomas Ferguson's bay horse <i>York</i>	3	dis.	
Capt. Smith's grey horse <i>Sharer</i>	dis.		
Mr. Allston's grey horse <i>Hazard</i>	"		
Mr. Wm. Sanders's black horse <i>Bucephalus</i>	"		

At starting three to two Babraham against the field; the second heat three to one Brutus won the plate; the third heat three to two on Babraham, who was hard pushed.

On Wednesday the 22nd another Subscription Plate of like value was run for on the same course by colts of fillies bred in this province, carrying weight for age agreeable to the rules at New Market, two mile heats, and won by:

The Hon. Edw. Fenwick, Esq.'s bay filly	1	1
John Ainslie, Esq.'s roan colt by Brutus	2	2
Col. Singleton's roan colt <i>Brilliant</i>	3	dist.
Mr. Benjamin Webb's chestnut colt <i>Crab</i> [See p. 64], was also dist. by the boy's dismounting before he came to the post.		

[1764, March 10, S. C. Gazette]

The races at Beaufort, Port Royal, on the 6th and 7th instant afforded no sport:

Mr. Charles Elliott's *Babraham* distancing two others the first heat, on the 6th; and

John Ainslie, Esq.'s roan colt [by Brutus] distancing Mr. Fenwick's (roan also) the first heat on the 7th.

*Mayrant's \*Skim v. Bellinger's Steady (by Brutus)*

[1764, March 10, S. C. Gazette]

At the great match at New-Market this day between *Skim* and *Steady*, the odds were four to one, three to one and two to one, before starting, on *Skim*, and great sums, laid at the odds; but lo! the race is not always to the swift; the bit of *Skim*'s bridle broke, and the rider was thrown almost as soon as started, and thus ended this momentous race. *Skim*'s friends seemed much surprised and serious, on their disappointment: Fame saith the Carolina Heber [John Mayrant] was a great sufferer. They are matched to run again on Monday the 19th, one thousand pounds to five hundred, *Skim* against *Steady*. [If they did run there is no surviving report of the result.]

And on the 10th of April at the same place, John Ainslie, Esq.'s roan colt [by Brutus] runs against Col. Singleton's roan the best of three two mile heats for three hundred pounds a side, half forfeit.

## 1765



[1765, January 19, S. C. Gazette]

New-Market Races (at Mr. Nightingale's near Charles-Town) begin this year, the first Tuesday in February, and 'tis expected there will be the greatest sport ever known in South-Carolina.

For the first day are enter'd the renowned *Skim* (said to be the swiftest horse in the province), *Young Brutus*, *Babraham*, and an English mare [*Mayrant's Dutchess*, see p. 179]; these latter receiving a very considerable weight. 'Tis presumed *Skim* may drop his foot.

Bets at present, six to four *Skim* doth not win. Considerable sums laid between *Babraham* and *Brutus* for that day. The opinion concerning the mare, is not known; but as she is in good hands, she may make a figure on the day of trial.

For the second and third days, are a number of horses and mares, English blood, rising three and four years old.

[1765, February 9, S. C. Gazette]

At New-Market Races, on Tuesday the 5th instant, the horses came in as under, viz:

Doctor Murray's horse *Skim*, aged, carrying ten stone.

Mr. Charles Elliott's horse *Babraham*, rising 6, weight 8 stone and 4 pounds.

Mr. Mayrant's mare, *Dutchess*, rising 5, weight 7 stone and 4 pounds, which was four pounds extraordinary, on account of her being total blood, bred in England and came over with *Skim*.

Mr. Ralph Izard's estate's horse *Brutus*, rising 6, weight 8 stone and 4 pounds.

Captain Ainslie's roan horse.

And though the victorious *Skim* did not drop his foot, yet he was hard pressed by the mare. It may be truly said there was good running that day.

Odds at starting 6 to 4, the field against *Skim*; even money betwixt *Skim* and *Babraham*; 5 to 4, and 6 to 4, *Babraham* against *Brutus*; 7 to 4 the field against *Babraham*; and 5 to 1, the mare did not win.

Wednesday the 6th, the Colt's Plate was won by Thomas Lynch Esq's., roan colt *Havanah*, rising 3, beating the rest hollow.

[1765, March 9, S. C. Gazette]

Tuesday last . . . for the Sweepstakes the following colts ran, and came in as under, viz:

Thomas Lynch, Esq.'s roan <i>Tristram Shandy</i>	1	1
Edward Fenwick, Esq.'s bay <i>Tarquin</i> [See p. 61]	2	2
John Ainslie, Esq.'s roan <i>Brutus</i>	dist.	

This was a very hollow race indeed. Odds at starting two to one on Tristram, against the field. After the first heat, twenty to one.

We hear the fine horse *Skim* does not go to Port Royal, as some of Brutus's get &c are [not] to be there, that have challenged the swiftest horse in the province, for one thousand guineas.

On the first of January, 1766, *Babraham* and *Steady* will run, at New-Market, for one thousand pounds currency, the best of heats, ten stone each.

## 1766

[1766, January 21, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

On Tuesday the 7th instant, the following horses ran at George Town Winyah for a Subscription Purse of three hundred and fifty pounds [currency, in plate], aged and 6 years old, carrying 10 stone, allowing 10 lb. for every year under six, and came in, viz:

Thomas Lynch, Esq.'s colt <i>Havannah</i> , 3 years old, got by Brutus out of a Spanish mare, and bred in this province	1	1
John Alston, Esquire's colt <i>Tristram Shandy</i> , 3 years old	2	drawn
John Mayrant, Esq.'s mare <i>Dutchess</i> , 5 years old, bought in England, full blooded, and the same that distanced <i>Havannah</i> last year, after he had been twice run hard before, and met with an accident, which had near spoiled him as a racer		dist.
Capt. Gardner's bay colt <i>Spark</i> , 4 years old, bred in Maryland		"

On Wednesday Thomas Lynch, Esq.'s colt *Noble* [See p. 185], a son of Brutus, walked over the course, no one daring to enter against him.

*Havannah* was offered to be matched against the victorious *Skim* for 500 guineas, the best of three two mile heats, catch riders; but, it seems, *Skim*'s friends are determined not to risk his reputation.

Another English mare also full blooded is to meet *Havannah* at New Market, when, if *Havannah* comes first, Old Brutus

(Squire Horry's property) must be acknowledged as good a stallion as is on the continent.

[1766, February 18, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

On Tuesday last a match was run at Parker's Ferry [of Edisto] between Mr. Charles Elliott's bay filly *Kitty Fisher* got by *Cade* [See p. 187], and Mr. Hartley's bay filly, got by Tarquin, when the latter was distanced the first heat with great ease.

N. B. Mr. Elliott's filly is the first of *Cade's* colts that has started for a match.

[1766, February 25, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

On Tuesday the 4th instant the Charles Town Plate carrying weight for age was won by

Mr. Lynch's roan colt <i>Havannah</i> , three years old,	
weight 6 stone 2 lb.	1
Mr. Charles Elliott's black horse <i>Jason</i> , aged, 10 stone	dist.

On Wednesday the 5th, the Colt's Plate, carrying weight for age, was won by

Mr. Lynch's bay colt <i>Noble</i> , three years old,	
weight 7 stone	1
Mr. Ainslie's roan colt <i>Blank</i> , three years old 7 stone	dist.
Mr. B. Waring's bay filly, 3 years old 7 stone	"
Mr. J. Waring's roan colt, 3 years old, 7 stone	
(threw his rider)	"
Mr. Izard's grey colt, 3 years old 7 stone (fell)	"

On Tuesday the 18th the Parker's Ferry Plate, carrying weight for age, was won by

Mr. Lynch's colt <i>Havannah</i> , 3 years old, 6 stone 2 lb.	1
Mr. Elliott's bay horse <i>Babram</i> , six years old,	
9 stone 4 lb.	dist.
Mr. Ainslie's roan colt <i>Blank</i> , three years old	
6 stone 2 lb.	"
Mr. Ford's bay gelding	"
Mr. Mayrant's English mare <i>Dutchess</i> , five years old,	
8 stone 4 lb.	"

On Wednesday the 19th, the Colt's Plate at the same place, carrying weight for age, was won by

Mr. Lynch's bay colt <i>Noble</i> , 3 years old, weight 7 stone	1
Dr. Reid's roan colt 3 years old, 7 stone	dist.
Mr. Waring's roan colt 3 years old, 7 stone	"
Mr. Ainslie's roan colt <i>Blank</i> , 3 years old, 7 stone	"
Mr. Elliott's roan filly 3 years old 7 stone	"

On Thursday the 20th the Plate for the country bred horses was won by

Mr. Ford's bay gelding, beating  
Mr. Jones' and  
Mr. Hartley's grey gelding.

[1766, March 25, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

On Tuesday the 4th instant the New Market Sweepstakes of 20 l. was won by

Mr. Lynch's roan colt <i>Havannah</i>	1	1
Mr. Ravenel's grey filly	2	2
Mr. W. Moultrie's bay colt (took the rest)	3	dist.

[1766, January 21, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

Jacksonborough course races will begin on the third Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday in March next.

The plates will be pretty considerable as there is five hundred pounds already subscribed. Subscriptions will be taken in by the subscriber until the Friday, next before the races.

The said subscriber will be prepared to entertain gentlemen, and will be furnished with proper stables for running horses and riding ditto, not exceeding 100 yards from the course.

Adam Culliatt.

[1766, March 25, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

On Tuesday the 18th instant, the Plate at Jacksonburgh was run for by the following three years old, carrying six stone three lb. and won by

Mr. Lynch's roan colt <i>Havannah</i>	2	1	1
Mr. Waring's roan colt	3	2	2
Mr. Fenwick's English filly [by Bajazet]	1	3	dist.
Mr. Benjamin Waring's bay filly	dist.		
Mr. Stead's English filly (threw the rider)	"		



Havannah's saddle turning, the first heat, he and Mr. Fenwick's came in so equal, that the judge could not determine which won. As this filly is thorough bred, and had the Advantage of coming fresh into the field against Havannah, who had travelled some hundred miles to, and run at, all the different places of sport this season, it was thought he would have been hard pushed, but after making her utmost effort to win the first heat, was obliged to submit to the blood of Brutus, who won the two heats with great ease.

On Wednesday the Colt's Plate was run for by the following 3 years old carrying seven stone and won by

Mr. Wilkinson's (late Mr. Lynch's) bay colt <i>Noble</i>	1
Dr. Reid's roan colt	dist.

On Thursday the Plate for country bred horses was won by Mr. Jones's dun gelding Moultrie, beating five others.

### 1767

[1767, January 23, S. C. & American General Gazette]

The races begin as follows, viz:

At New Market near Charles Town on the first Tuesday, being the third day February, 1767, and

At Ferguson's Ferry on the 3d Tuesday being the 17th day of said month.

[1767, February 17, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

On Tuesday the 3d instant the Charles Town Plate (carrying weight for age) was run for, and won by

Mr. Wilkinson's bay colt <i>Noble</i> , 4 years old (got by Honest Old Brutus and bred in Carolina) carrying 7 st. 3 lb.	1	1
Mr. Fenwick's grey filly, 4 years old (got by Bajazet, bred in Old England) carrying 7 st. 3 lb.	2	2
Mr. Elliott's bay horse <i>Babram</i> , aged (got by Brutus), carrying 10 st.	3	3
Mr. Ravenel's grey filly	dist.	
Dr. Murray's horse <i>Skim</i> , aged (bred in England), carrying 10 st.	"	

Wednesday the Colt's Plate was run for; 3 years old carrying 7 st. and 4 years, 8 st., 3 lb., and won by

Mr. Fenwick's bay colt *Snap*, beating  
 Mr. Ravenel's bay colt *True Blue*;  
 Mr. Brewton's bay filly;  
 Capt. Moultrie's bay colt *Silver Heels*;  
 Mr. Ravenel's grey filly, and  
 Mr. Parson's bay filly.

The Sweepstakes was won by

Mr. Fenwick's roan colt *Partner*; beating  
 Mr. Ferguson's bay colt *Rebus*;  
 Colonel Howarth's roan colt (thrown by a cow);  
 Dr. Carson's roan filly; and  
 Mr. Elliott's bay colt.

### 1768



[1767, December 11, S. C. & American General Gazette]

The races for 1768 begin as follows:

At Strawberry the third Tuesday in January;

At New Market near Charlestown, the first Tuesday in February; and

At Ferguson's Ferry the third Tuesday in February.

Subscriptions for the above races are taken in by Jonathan Sarrazin, with whom the articles are lodged.

[1768, January 25, S. C. Gazette]

At Winyaw races near George Town on Tuesday the 5th instant the following horses &c. started, carrying weight for age, and came in as follows, viz:

---

Thomas Lynch, Esq.'s roan horse <i>Havannah</i> , six years old, got by Brutus	1	1
William Moultrie, Esq.'s grey filly rising four, got by Starling	2	2
Mr. Alston's bay horse <i>Crocus</i> , aged	dist.	
Daniel Horry, Esq.'s chesnut horse <i>Sprightly</i> , bred in England [See p. 190], aged	"	
Robert Weaver, Esq.'s bay colt bred in Virginia, rising four [See p. 175]	"	

At starting the bets were even money, *Havannah* against the field; and some money was laid, *Sprightly* against the filly, and,

On Wednesday the 6 instant only two started for the Colt's Plate, viz:

Mr. William Alston's colt [Tryal], got by Cade, rising five years old (won hollow)	1	1
Thomas Lynch, Esq.'s bay colt <i>Hotspur</i> , rising four years old	2	2

At starting £1000 to £100 was offered, *Hotspur* against the Cade colt; but as the odds were high few bets were then made.

It is to be observed in order that *Hotspur* should be mounted with a favourite rider, he was obliged to carry 14 lb. more than the weight mentioned in the articles; but as the Cade colt won the first heat so easily, the owner of *Hotspur* thought it needful to get a proper weight to ride for the second. Such an alteration of weight naturally changed the minds of some persons and even money was then betted; but this grandson of the renowned Old Cade maintained his superiority and won the second heat also with ease, against *Hotspur*, full brother to the invincible Noble got by Brutus, son of Regulus, who was a son of the Godolphin Arabian.

We are informed that [Tryal] the Cade colt will run at New Market at the races which will begin there on the first Tuesday in February next and that great sport is expected.

[1768, January 25, S. C. Gazette]

At *Strawberry races* Tuesday the 19th instant the following rising four years old started and came in as follows, viz:

Mr. James Ravenel's filly	1
Capt. Harleston's colt	dist.
Mr. John Harleston's colt	"
Mr. Paul Mazyck's colt <i>Starling</i>	"

And on Wednesday 20th instant the following three years old started and came in as follows, viz:

Daniel Horry, Esq.'s filly <i>Cherry</i>	1	1
Mr. Frierson's colt	2	2
Mr. Daniel Ravenel, jun.'s colt	3	3
Mr. Daniel Ravenel's filly	dist.	

[1768, February 1, S. C. Gazette]

Tomorrow begin the Charles Town races at New Market course, when the following horses are entered to run, viz: For the Plate for aged horses, &c., carrying weight for age, William Henry Drayton, Esq.'s colt Partner, rising five, got by Brutus; Samuel Elliott, Esq.'s horse Daffodil [See p. 193], formerly Lord Godolphin's; and Thomas Lynch, Esq.'s horse Havannah. Even money has been betted that Daffodil will be distanced if both Partner and Havannah start, and that because the weights are so disproportioned between the colts and aged horses.

The following are also entered, for the Colt and Fillies Plate on Wednesday, viz: Edward Fenwick, Esq.'s roan colt *Forrester*, got by Brutus; Mr. James Riddle's bay colt *Looby*, got by Skim; Mr. Jonah Atchison's chesnut colt *Tryal*, got by Cade, and who beat *Hotspur* at Winyah; Benjamin Elliott, Esq.'s brown colt *Julius Caesar*, got by Pharaoh; Mr. Ja. Ravenel's bay colt *True Blue*, got by Starling; and William Williamson, Esq.'s chestnut filly *Cadena*, got by Cade. Great sport is expected the second day.

Tryal is the favourite; but as there is so good a field, the odds must be high against him.

The gentlemen of the Jockey Club, we hear, are to make some regulations for the first day's sport in future in order that the aged horses may have a chance to win.

[1768, February 8, S. C. Gazette]

On Tuesday last at New Market course the following horses &c started for the Plate, weight for age, and came in as follows:

William Henry Drayton, Esq. bay colt <i>Partner</i> , got by Brutus, carrying 7 stone 2 lb.	1	1
Mr. William Cattell's horse <i>Havannah</i> carrying 8 stone 3 lb. lamed in the second heat	2	2
Samuel Elliott, Esq.'s bay horse <i>Daffodil</i> , bred by Lord Grosvenor (not Godolphin, as mentioned in our last), carrying 10 stone, by a stirrup breaking, was dist. the first heat.		

A great deal of money was betted on this race; but the weights gave it to Partner in spite of Havannah's endeavours to win.

Bets at starting were eleven to ten, Partner against the field; the first heat between these sons of Brutus was a good one, but the weight was too heavy for poor Havannah; as he is a much less horse than Partner, and not above seven months older.

It is thought Daffodil would not have been distanced but for the above accident, notwithstanding the almost positive predictions in one of the gazettes. Havannah was lamed in running the second heat [*S. C. & Am. Gen. Gazette*].

On Wednesday the Colt's Plate was run for on the same course, and won by

Jonah Atchison's bay colt <i>Tryall</i> , got by Cade	1	1
Edward Fenwick, Esq.'s bay colt <i>Forrester</i> , got by Brutus	2	2
Mr. James Ravenel's colt <i>True Blue</i> , got by Starling	3	3
Benjamin Elliott, Esq.'s brown colt <i>Julius Caesar</i> , got by Pharaoh [See p. 197]	}	dist. the first heat.
William Williamson, Esq. chesnut filly got by Cade,		

Forrester was the favourite and the friends of Brutus were taken in.

Looby did not start till the afternoon, and then for the Sweepstakes but was distanced.

Of the two bad ones, Julius Caesar was the best. At starting Forester was the crack, and even money he against the field. This was a good day's sport, but Forester was obliged to yield to Tryall, when bottom and willingness to answer the whip brought him through against the favorite. Tryall was not in proper condition to start, having had a very little training as his appearance after the heats must have convinced every impartial judge. The knowing ones wore long visages after this race. [*S. C. & Am. Gen. Gazette*].

On Monday next, being the 15 of February, a match will be run between Daffodil and Shadow, at New Market, the best of 3 two-mile heats, for 700 l. a side, to start at eleven in the forenoon. Both are aged and to carry equal weights.

The match intended for the first of March for 500 l. currency a side between Hotspur and Second, the best of 3 three-mile heats, weight 8 stone each is dropped by consent of the parties (both being lame).

*Fenwick's \*Shadow v. Elliott's \*Daffodil*

[1768, February 15, S. C. Gazette]

This day the bay horse *Shadow* [See p. 75], belonging to Mr. Thomas Nightingale, rising nine, started against Samuel Elliott, Esq.'s bay horse *Daffodil*, rising eight years old, each carrying nine stone the best of 3 two-mile heats for seven hundred pounds currency and was won hollow by the former. They are both full 15 hands high: the former was got by Babraham out of a thorough bred mare and has been the property of the Dukes of Northumberland and Kingston; and the latter was the property of Lord Grosvenor. As soon as *Shadow* was stripped to run, the racer appeared in him, and he may be said to have won in a canter. Very few bye bets depended on this race. We hear that *Shadow* is to cover mares at or near Dorchester this season.

*Horry's \*Sprightly v. Huger's Crocus*

[1768, March 7, S. C. Gazette]

Last Tuesday a match was run, at New-Market, between Daniel Horry, Esq.'s horse *Sprightly* and Benjamin Huger, Esq.'s horse *Crocus*, both five years old, the best of three two mile heats, for three hundred pounds currency, and won by the former, *Crocus* having thrown his rider the first heat.

*The Mechanics Purse*

[1768, March 14, S. C. Gazette]

On Wednesday the 30th day of March, 1768, will be run for at New Market course a purse, value upwards of two hundred pounds given by the Mechanicks of Charles Town free for any horse, mare or gelding carrying nine stone, the horse that wins two heats in three to have the purse; the next best a sad-

dle, bridle, whip and silver spurs, value £50; to run the best of three two-mile heats, and enter at least three days before running, with Thomas Nightingale, on paying £5 entrance, which is to be laid out for cords for the use of the course, and to run according to the rules of New Market in South Carolina. No less than three reputed running horses to start for the purse, or no race; if one horse only enters to have £50; if two, £25 each, and the remainder to be reserved till the next season.

[1768, April 4, S. C. Gazette]

On Wednesday the 30th ult., the following horses, &c, started for the purse given by the Mechanics of Charles Town, and came in as follows:

Mr. Thomas Nightingale's Bay Horse <i>Shadow</i> , aged, got by Old Babraham and bred in England	1	1
Mr. Jonah Atchison's Bay Colt <i>Tryal</i> , got by W. Williamson, Esq.'s horse Cade, four years old	2	2
Edward Fenwicke's Esq. grey mare bred in England, four years old	3	dist.

They carried 9 stone each, which bore no proportion to their ages and qualifications, of course was won very easy by *Shadow*; *Tryal* being much over-weighted and the mare had lately had the distemper, and not six weeks training for the race. The colt as second best received saddle, bridle, whip, spurs, &c, worth upwards of £50 currency.

Bets at starting, the mare against the field, but she was not able to run 100 yards with the old horse.

*Fenwick's \*Centinel v. Wilkinson's Noble (son of Fenwick's \*Brutus)*

At the beginning of his second year in Carolina, Centinel [See p. 66] issued the following banter:

[1767, January 12, S. C. Gazette]

*Centinel* will run against any horse in this province, carrying ten stone against nine, four miles, three heats, at any time between this and the first day of March, for one or two hundred pounds sterling.

Any person inclined to accept the above proposals will be informed who to treat with, by applying to the printer of this paper.

This was not answered until after the stipulated time limit had expired, when the following challenge was published:

[1767, March 17, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

*Noble* (bred in South Carolina) having the last year, as well as this, proved himself superior in blood, speed and temper, to any horse, mare or gelding that has yet dared to appear against him on the turf, will very shortly cover as a stallion a certain number of mares, at a time, place, and on terms that will immediately be made known, unless the famed *Centinel*, or some other horse, should dare to run him any time between this and the 10th day of April next.

*Noble*, being truly, as well as nominally so, now offers to run with any horse in the world, carrying weight for age, for one thousand guineas; but being particularly desirous of meeting '*Centinel*', will run against him (notwithstanding he has been running and travelling from place to place) the best of three four-mile heats at New-Market, and will give up seventeen pounds of the weight he has a right to for difference of age, according to the true method of running in Old England, for any sum from two hundred to one thousand guineas, half forfeit.

If this is not accepted, 'twill be deemed by the lovers of the turf that *Centinel* never intended to run and give the odds, and that the advertisement was mere puff.

In January, 1768, the match was arranged, and in April of that year was run, as the following record shows:

[1768, January 25, S. C. Gazette]

A match is made between John Gibbes, Esq.'s horse *Centinel*, bred by the Duke of Ancaster and Morton Wilkinson, Esq.'s horse *Noble*, bred by Thomas Lynch, Esq., and mentioned above, to run at New Market the last Thursday in March next for one thousand pounds, play or pay half forfeit, the best of three four-mile heats; *Centinel* to carry 10 stone, and *Noble* 9 stone.



[1768, February 2, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

The person who informed us of the match between *Centinel* and *Noble*, having omitted to mention the ages of these horses, we think it a piece of justice to set that match in its true light; viz: Centinel aged, carrying ten stone, against Noble, five years old, carrying nine stone weight, to run the best of three four mile heats at New Market, on the last day of March next.

[1768, April 4, S. C. Gazette]

On Thursday the 31st the long wish'd for day arrived, when *Centinel* and *Noble* were to start, to run the best of three four-mile heats, Centinel carried 10 stone, and Noble 9 stone for £1000 currency a side. The preceding night it rained very hard, and also on the morning that they started, which made their course in a very bad condition. However they were at the post about twelve; the odds then were 3 to 2 and 5 to 3 current upon Noble; they had run but a few minutes before the cry was altered and Centinel, in spite of Noble's condition, showed his superiority to a prodigious number of spectators; he took the lead, and poor Noble snorted at the mud and dirt that was dashed in his face by the heels of Centinel. The first heat was run by Centinel, rather under 9 minutes; the second, in about 8½ minutes. After the first heat 10 to 1 upon Centinel. Noble exerted himself, and lay in a good place to win for two miles, the rider says three. But upon this race the preceding day's sport, and the race sometime since between Sprightly and Crocus, the inquisitive gentlemen, the stable grooms, the jockies, and the whole tribe of knowing ones, were made wiser, at least lighter, by losing and paying their money. And this was the day the people of John's Island rejoiced against the people from Santee, Peedee and the Northward and they were exceeding glad that Centinel beat Noble: said to be invincible.

[1768, June 3, S. C. & American General Gazette]

The hitherto invincible [Galloway's] *Selim* [b. c. 1759, by \*Othello out of Tasker's \*Selima], the crack of Maryland and Pennsylvania, it seems has, at last, been forced to yield; but if he and [Hamilton's imported] *Figure* too [who beat *Selim* at Upper Marlboro in Md. in May, 1768. See ATR, iii, 96] had started with *Centinel*, they must have been almost double distanced, since it appears, *Selim's* conquerour took eight

minutes and fifty two seconds to run a four mile heat; and Centinel run the same distance at our New Market the 31st of March last, in eight minutes and thirty seconds.

[1768, March 20, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

*At Ferguson's Ferry races* the following horses, &c, started and came in as below, viz:

Tuesday, February 16.

William Henry Drayton, Esq.'s [late E. Fenwick's] <i>Partner</i>	1
Thomas Ferguson, Esq.'s <i>Scrub</i> , took out and thereby	dist.

Wednesday, February 17.

Mr. Allston's <i>Tryal</i>	1
John Ainslie, Esq.'s <i>Dickey</i>	dist.
Mr. Summer's <i>Nancy</i>	"

Thursday, February 18.

Mr. George Brown's <i>Negro</i>	1
Estate Mr. George Ford's <i>Rainbow</i>	2
Mr. John Lamar's <i>Rammer</i>	3
Mr. William Holliday's <i>Roaring Billy</i>	4

[1768, March 22, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

On Tuesday the 8th of March instant, was run for at *Beaufort, Port Royal*, the subscription plate, when the two following horses started, viz:

Mr. Thomas Nightingale's bay horse <i>Shadow</i> , aged, got by Babram, weight 10 stone	1	1
Mr. Andrew Deveaux's bay colt, 3 years old, got by Cade, weight 6 stone	2	dist.

On Wednesday, March 9

Mr. Richard Pendarvis's chestnut colt 4 years old got by Skim, wt. 7 stone	1	1
Mr. William Bull, junior's bay colt, four years old, got by Cade, wt. 7 stone	2	2
Mr. Benjamin Garden's black colt, 5 years old, got by <i>Prince</i> [See p. 200], wt. 8 stone	dist.	
Mr. Andrew Deveaux's bay colt, 3 years old, got by Cade, weight 6 stone	"	

## 1769

*Wilkinson's Noble v. Drayton's Adolphus* (both by \*Brutus)

[1769, January 16, S. C. & American General Gazette]

On Tuesday last the match between Morton Wilkinson, Esq.'s horse *Noble*, and William Henry Drayton, Esq.'s horse *Adolphus*, was run over New Market course one four-mile heat for a thousand pounds, a side, *Noble* carrying 9 st. 7 lb. and *Adolphus* 8 st. 7 lb., being weight for age, and won by *Noble* by half a head. Great sums were depending on this match.

Before starting, the odds were on *Noble*; in running, even money and five to one, on the colt, except in the last mile, when *Noble* was the favourite again; and tho the odds won, yet as great, very great, sums were laid on the match, the friends of *Adolphus* were much hurt.

We hear that the odds are four to one on *Shadow* against *Adolphus*, for the match to be run on Tuesday the 31st instant, the best of three four-mile heats carrying 9 stone each.

[1769, January 24, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

Charles-Town races begin on Tuesday the seventh of February, 1769, when a main of cocks will be fought.

[1769, February 2, S. C. Gazette]

On Tuesday next, three or four horses are expected to run for the Horse Plate; among them *Noble* and *Tryal*. Three to one hath been laid that *Noble* wins the Plate.

On Wednesday, six or seven are to start for the Colt's Plate, and much sport is expected.

[1769, February 9, S. C. Gazette]

Last Tuesday the following horses started at New Market for the Charles Town Subscription Plate, carrying weight for age, and came in, viz:

William Allston, Esqr.'s chestnut horse <i>Tryal</i> , got by		
Cade, 5 years old, weight 9 st. 4 lb.	1	1
Mr. Rogers' chestnut gelding, got by <i>Valiant</i> [See p. 172],		
6 years old, weight 9 st. 4 lb.	2	2
Morton Wilkinson, Esqr.'s bay horse <i>Noble</i> , got by Bru-		
tus, 6 years old, weight 9 st. 4 lb.	3	dist.

Odds before and at starting, three and four to one, Noble against the field. While Noble was running the first time round, it was easy to perceive that he was unfit for the sport; but in the second round, every sportsman saw the cheat. It was soon discovered, that Robert Gay (who, ever since he came into the province, had kept Noble, and rode him that day) had received a bribe of £500 currency, to lose the plate. Gay being charged with it, after some hesitation, declared that he had received the bribe from Fenwick Bull, Esq.; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, Register of Mesne Conveyances, Notary Public, Agent to the contractors for victualling his Majesty's troops in this province, Clerk to the Board of Commissioners of the Pilotage, &c, &c. This worthy Magistrate and Placeman<sup>10</sup> was soon found and denied the charge, with the most solemn protestations; nay, offered to take his oath, that he was altogether ignorant of the whole affair; but being confronted with Gay, and one Bettely (another groom who was in the secret) he could no longer conceal his guilt. After receiving the usual and proper discipline of the horse-whip, his worship was carried into a room, by the gentlemen of the turf, to protect him from the mob, who would otherwise have torn him to pieces. He then thought fit to confess

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<sup>10</sup> *Fenwick Bull* (1720-1781): Apart from the record of his disgrace in 1769 the only other testimony for Fenwick Bull on the Carolina turf is that two years before he had had a stake in \*Friar (See p. 213). Despite the fact that he bore a combination of two honoured Carolina names, it does not appear that he was of kin to either the Carolina Fenwicks or the Carolina Bulls. He seems to have had his origin in Liverpool and to have had no other relation to Carolina than the interest which procured him to be sent out thither as a 'placeman' to hold minor Crown offices of profit.

A note in the *Gazette* of February 28, 1769, shows that on his disgrace he was promptly removed from his office of Register of Mesne Conveyances; but he lived on in Charles Town to die there, apparently well to do, during the British occupation. By his will (*Charleston Probate Court*, Will Book, 1780-83, p. 174), dated March 9, 1776, and proved February 16, 1781, in which he described himself as Notary Public, he left his house and household servants in Charles Town, with a legacy of money, to his housekeeper, and his residuary estate 'to my beloved wife Elizabeth Bull, of Ludgate Hill, London, Printseller'. It is improbable that either of these beneficiaries realized on the estate; for in its Tory forfeiture act of 1782 the Jacksonborough Assembly included in the penalties of its List No. 1 the 'heirs or devisees of Fenwicke Bull'.

all his roguery; among the rest, that he had bribed Gay, when he rode Noble against Adolphus, so that it is probable he would have been beat then, could Gay have managed in such a manner as to lose without being discovered. In short there is great reason to suspect, that the race has not been to the swift, since white grooms have rode our horses. Gay is committed to gaol, to take his trial at the next session, as a public cheat.

The second heat afforded good sport, between the chestnut horse and Tryall; but Tryall's bottom brought him through victorious.

Yesterday the Colt's Plate was run for, at the same place, and won by

Mr. John Wright's bay colt <i>Cade</i> , got by Cade, 4 years old, weight 8 st. 3 lb.	1	1
Daniel Horry, Esq.'s roan colt <i>Raffle</i> , got by Brutus, 4 years old, weight 8 st. 3 lb.	2	dist.
William Moultrie, Esq.'s chesnut colt <i>Favourite</i> , got by Starling, 3 years old, weight 7 st.	3	"
Col. Howarth's roan filly, got by Pam, 3 years old, weight 7 stone	4	"

At starting, much was expected from Horry's colt, who was consequently the favourite, but the Cade colt proved superior, and the knowing ones were thereby taken in.

*Fenwick's \*Shadow v. Drayton's Adolphus (son of Fenwick's \*Brutus)*

[1769, February 6, S. C. & American General Gazette]

On Tuesday last, the great match between William Henry Drayton, Esq.'s roan horse Adolphus and Mr. Thomas Nightingale's bay horse Shadow, carrying 9 st. each, the best of three four-mile heats, was run for at Newmarket, and won hollow by

<i>Shadow</i> , aged, got by Babram, bred in England	1	1
<i>Adolphus</i> , rising 6 years, got by Brutus, and bred in Carolina	2	2

By several stop watches it appeared they did not exceed eight minutes and an half in running four miles.

Odds at starting three to one on the winner.

Adolphus notwithstanding the inequality of ages, &c, ran a good and an honest colt, and like a true son of Brutus; but he could not distress the old horse (*S. C. Gazette*).

N. B. Adolphus did not want two months of being six years old, and therefore the author of the South Carolina Gazette was under a mistake in calling him a colt.

We hear Shadow is willing to run with any horse in the province, agreeable to offers made by gentlemen of the turf this season, his weight not to exceed 9 st.

### 1770

[1770, January 4, *S. C. Gazette*]

New Market races begin the first Tuesday in February, 1770.

The gentlemen of the Jockey Club desire, and beg it as a favour, that no person or persons, for the future, will ride over the race ground, during the training of the horses, as many accidents may happen from coaches, chairs, and horses intercepting of them in their practice.

[1770, February 13, *S. C. Gazette & Country Journal*]

On Tuesday last the annual races began at New Market, near this town, when the following horses started for the Charles Town Plate, viz:

Mr. Fenwicke's bay horse <i>Shadow</i>	2	1	1
Mr. Alston's <i>Tryal</i>	1	2	dr.
Mr. Pere's <i>Tartar</i> [See p. 202]	dist.		
Mr. Riddle's <i>Childers</i> [See p. 204]	"		
Mr. Ainslie's <i>Filley</i>	"		

And on Wednesday the following colts started at the same place for the Colt's Plate, viz:

Mr. Neyle's bay colt <i>Valiant</i>	1	1
Major Samuel Elliott's colt <i>Gustavus</i>	2	2
Mr. Hust's colt <i>Young Barrock-Billy</i> [See p. 193]	dist.	

[1770, March 13, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

Tuesday last the *Subscription Purse* was run for at 'Strawberry and won by

Mr. Neyle's colt *Valiant*, beating  
 Mr. Pere's *Tartar*,  
 Mr. Horry's *Raffle*,  
 Mr. Ainslie's Filly (who fell), and  
 Mr. Ravenel's Filly.

Also, on Wednesday the *Colt's Plate* was run for at the same place, and won by

Mr. Benjamin Waring's colt *Homespun* [by \*Pharaoh. See p. 197]  
 who won the plate at George Town, by the name of Oronoko, beating  
 Capt. Harleston's Filly.

### 1771

[1771, January 15, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

On the first instant, the annual races began at George Town, when the following horses started for the plate, and came in as follows, viz :

Benjamin Waring, Esqr.'s bay horse <i>Homespun</i>	1	1
Mr. McDonald's Virginia horse [ <i>Davy</i> ]	2	2
Sampson Neyle, Esqr.'s horse <i>Valiant</i>	3	dr.
A Virginia mare		dist.

And the next day, the colt's plate was run for, and came in as follows, viz :

Mr. Joseph Allston's bay colt <i>Buzzard</i>	1	1
Mr. William Johnson's colt	2	2
Mr. Jonah Atchison's colt <i>Hawk</i>	3	3

[1771, January 17, S. C. Gazette]

Newmarket races, near Charles-Town, begin on the first Tuesday in February.

The gentlemen of the turf desire that no person or persons will drive their chairs or carriages over the course, during the practicing of the horses, as many accidents may happen thereby.

[1771, February 28, S. C. Gazette]

On Tuesday the 5th instant the following horses started for the Subscription Plate at New-Market course, carrying weight for age; and came in, viz:

Benjamin Waring, Esqr.'s bay horse <i>Homespun</i> , got by Pharaoh, 3 years old	1	1
John Gibbes, Esqr.'s chesnut filly, got by Centinel, three years old	2	2
John Ainslie, Esqr.'s black English horse <i>Lofty</i> [See p. 205], aged	3	dr.
William Henry Drayton, Esqr.'s roan horse <i>Adolphus</i> , got by Brutus, aged		dist.

And on Wednesday the 6th, the Colt's Plate was run for, and won by

Samuel Elliott, Esqr.'s bay colt, got by Barrock Billy, four years old	1	1
Jonah Atchison, Esqr.'s bay colt <i>Hawk</i> , three years old	2	3
Doct. Carsan's bay filly, got by Centinel	3	4
Benjamin Coachman, Esqr.'s roan colt got by Brutus, three years old	4	2
Colonel Howarth's colt		dist.

## 1772

[1772, January 21, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

New Market races near Charles Town begin on the first Tuesday and Wednesday in February next. The gentlemen of the turf desire that no person or persons will ride over the course in carriages, during the practicing of the horses.

[1772, February 11, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

Tuesday last the annual races began at New Market course near this town, when the following horses started for the Plate, and came in as follows, viz:

Mr. Adam McDonald's bay horse <i>Davy</i> , carrying 9 st. 4 lb.	1	1
Mr. Benjamin Waring's bay horse <i>Homespun</i> , carrying 7 st. 3 lb.	2	2
The Estate of Mr. Thomas Gadsden's horse <i>Moro</i> [See p. 209], aged, carrying 10 st.	3	3
Mr. William Williamson's Filly, carrying 6 st. 11 lb.		dist.



And on Wednesday the Colt's Plate was run for, and came in as follows, viz:

Mr. Singleton's Filly, carrying 6 st. 11 lb.	1	1
Mr. Barnwell's colt, carrying 7 st.	2	dist.
Mr. Gibbs's Filly, carrying 6 st. 11 lb.	3	2
Mr. Johnston's colt, carrying 7 st.	4	3
Mr. Ravenel's colt, carrying 7 st.	5	4
Mr. Williamson's colt, carrying 7 st.		dist.

There was very fine sport both days (*S. C. & Am. Gen. Gazette*).

## 1773



[1772, November 26, *S. C. Gazette*]

'The subscriber having been at a considerable expense in repairing the New Market Course, requests all persons not to ride or drive carriages over the same, after this notice.

James Strickland.'

[1773, February 16, *S. C. Gazette & Country Journal*]

'The annual races begun at New Market last Tuesday, and the Plate was won by Mr. Thomas Sumter's mare.'

[1773, March 22, *S. C. Gazette & Country Journal*]

'On Tuesday last a horse lately brought from England [i. e., \*Flinnap. See p. 82] now called Carolina with much ease beat the famous horse [Adam McDonald's] Davy, who had lately won so many matches for 200 guineas.'

Josiah Quincy of Boston, then in Charles Town, saw this race and described it in his *Journal* (quoted by Irving, p. 41):

'Am now going to the famous Races. The Races were well performed; but *Flimnap* beat *Little David* (who had won the last sixteen races) out and out. The last heat the former distanced the latter. The first four mile heat was performed in 8 m. 17 s.

'£2000 were won and lost at this race and *Flimnap* sold at public vendue the same day for £300 sterling.'

### 1774-1783

The Boston Tea Party on December 20, 1773, followed promptly by the coercive acts of Parliament which brought on the American Revolution, had the immediate effect of suspending organized racing in all the larger communities of the American colonies; and, among the rest, in Charles Town. No meeting of the South Carolina Jockey Club was held in 1774 or again until after the war.

That the sober sentiment of political propriety which actuated this restraint was not yet felt by all horsemen appears from advertisements of race meets to be held during 1774 at several smaller places in Carolina, and it was not until after the Continental Congress had adopted its Continental Association on October 20, 1774, specifying horse racing as one of the 'kinds of gaming . . . and other expensive diversions and entertainments' which all 'his Majestys most loyal subjects in America should discountenance during the troubles', that these 'provincial' activities also came to an end. Thus it was that the meeting of the Georgetown Jockey Club, advertised in September, 1774, by Daniel Horry, Benjamin Huger and Paul Trapier as Stewards, to be held during the following December, was in November 'set aside in consequence of the recommendation of the General Congress'.

Although the cessation of racing during the war was generally supported by public opinion, there are evidences that, during Carolina's comparatively peaceful period, from the repulse of Sir H. Clinton at Sullivan's Island in 1776 to Gen. Prevost's invasion of Carolina by land in 1779, race meets

were held; thereby demonstrating, as do the *Paston Letters* during the wars of the Roses, that even in the heat of arms men think of other things than politics. Both of the surviving testimonies here in point bear witness to the inheritance and survival of the regional rivalry between Goose Creek and Stono, which we have already noted in respect to the earliest sporting records of Carolina; and so it is not surprising to find that the protagonists of both were the Harlestons of 'Strawberry' and Edward Fenwick, jun.

The earliest of these is as follows:

[1779, February 18, S. C. & Am. Gen. Gazette; s. v. Flimnap]

'N. B. The only colt of Flimnap's that ever started run the first Tuesday last month [January, 1779] at Strawberry for the Colt's Plate, which he won though not near full blood, beating colts from the first horses, & out of full blooded imported mares.

Edward Fenwicke [jun.]'.

This is followed by a note found among the *Harleston Papers* (SCHM, viii, 174). The paper is not dated but the contents seem clearly to relate it to the months following the race meet at Strawberry in January, 1779. It is addressed by Roger Parker Saunders to Major Isaac Harleston (1745-1798):

'I have seen Fenwicke', said Saunders, 'and am sorry to inform you he will not run the Match: at any rate he ses he is very sure it can't possibly be done with secrecy, and is loth to incur the odium of the public, and would be glad we would draw the race. He ses many of his friends have advised him not to run considering the trouble you have had and he, at the last one. If its agreeable to you I will draw the Race [as] I am persuaded we shall be blam'd if its out'.

Who can say how many such matches were arranged and carried through? The fact that the competing horses were owned by Whigs and Tories respectively is not likely to have diminished the zest of the sport.

*The second and third South Carolina Jockey Clubs, 1783-1791*

Within a year after the British had evacuated Carolina the colonial Charles Town became a city under the name Charleston, and its people were actively renewing a normal life.

Among other evidences of this spirit was the organization in December, 1783, of a new Jockey Club, for which the following testimony has survived:

[1783, December 13, S. C. Gazette & General Advertiser]

*Jockey Club:* Those gentlemen who may be desirous of becoming members of the Jockey Club will find the subscription paper at Mr. Miller's printing office where they can have an opportunity of subscribing their names. The annual meeting will be held on the third Tuesday in January, at the City Tavern, six o'clock in the evening, when the members are requested to give their attendance, to form some necessary regulations, and make choice of officers for the ensuing year.

The races are to commence on the second Tuesday in February next. Such gentlemen as have horses to enter for either of the purses, have this notice, that they might have time to train them.

Of the part of this organization in the community life Charles Fraser recorded a pleasant picture. Writing of his school days, a period he dates by memories of Washington's visit to Charleston in 1791, Mr. Fraser said:

'Prominent in our early recollections of Charleston, are the races, the most absorbing popular amusement then known to its inhabitants.

'Whether from the removal of those calamities under which every part of the State had suffered for so many years, or whether from the personal interest every where taken by our wealthy planters in the raising and training of horses, and their ambition for distinction in the production of those noble animals, the races were, for many years after the peace, a very different thing from what they now are. They made Charleston the great centre for all who could afford to travel, even from distant parts of the State. The enthusiasm produced by their recurrence, pervaded all classes of the community to such a degree as scarcely could be now conceived. Schools were dismissed. The judges, not unwillingly, adjourned the Courts, for they were deserted by lawyers, suitors and witnesses. Clergymen thought it no impropriety to see a well contested race; and if grave physicians played truant,

they were sure to be found in the crowd on the race ground. Every stable in the city was emptied—every saddle and bridle put into requisition, and those who could procure neither horse, saddle, nor bridle, enlisted as pedestrians. The course itself presented quite a showy and animated spectacle, for the number of well dressed and well mounted horsemen, and from the display of equipages and liveries.

'The whole week was devoted to pleasure and the interchanges of conviviality; nor were the ladies unnoticed, for the Race ball, given to them by the Jockey Club, was always the most splendid of the season. But, in all this round of gaiety and enjoyment, business was not neglected. For throughout the country, its engagements were generally postponed to the race week in Charleston, where the planter came to settle accounts with his factor, or to receive the proceeds of his crops, as well as to pay off the annual bills of the merchant, who had supplied him with groceries and other articles, throughout the past year; for before the days of banks, all credits were annual, and dependent upon crops. The circulation of money thus produced, had its effect, no doubt, in enhancing the general good humour.

'The first race course I remember was on the Meeting-street road, a little above the old rope-walk, near the centre of which stood Creighton's tavern (since burnt down). This place was afterwards abandoned, and the Washington Course purchased by the Jockey Club, which has ever since continued to be the scene of this happy reunion.'

With this introduction the Racing Calendar is resumed, as follows:

### 1784

[1784, January 27, S. C. Gazette & General Advertiser]

*Jockey Club:* The members of the Jockey Club are requested to attend on Wednesday evening the 28th inst. at the City Tavern, six o'clock, as the quota of the purses is then to be fixed on.

No calendar of the races of 1784 has survived, but the following excerpt from a stud advertisement in April, 1784, of the Virginia horse Thornton's Brilliant (by Wormeley's K. Herod out of Burwell's Camilla), is evidence that a race meet was duly held, viz:

In consequence of an advertisement in the *Gazette*, that mentions Mr. Quash's horse Young Flimnap beating and distancing Brilliant, I do assure that gentleman that my horse was in very bad order, and that I will run the third Tuesday, or any other day next February, with

his horse; but as I would wish to be more liberal against any Flimnap colt in this state, agreeable to the Jockey Club, the four-mile heats round the course near Charleston, for two or three hundred guineas.

John Lawson.

### 1785

[1784, December 22, S. C. State Gazette & Daily Advertiser]

*Jockey Club:* On Monday the 10th of January next, the annual meeting of the Jockey Club will be held at the City Tavern, at six o'clock in the evening; where the members are requested to attend on business, and pay their subscriptions, agreeable to the rules of the Club. On the day following the races will commence at Newmarket, near Charleston.

The first purse to be run for by stud horses or mares, four mile heats, carrying weight as follows:

Aged, 10 stone

Six years old, 9 st. 6 lb.

Five years old, 8 st. do.

The second purse to be run for the day following, (Wednesday) three mile heats, carrying weight as follows:

Five years old, 8 st.

Four years old, 7 st.

And the third purse, two mile heats, carrying weight as follows:

Four years old, 8 st.

Three years old, 7 st.

Two years old, a feather.

No horse, mare, colt, or filly, will be permitted to enter without producing a certificate of their age from under the hand of the breeder, to the Stewards, who will attend at the City Tavern on Saturday evening preceding the race, from six to eight o'clock, after which time none can be entered without paying double entrance.

[1785, January 12, S. C. State Gazette & Daily Advertiser]

This evening, at the City Tavern, will be given the Race Ball, to which gentlemen who wish to become subscribers to the Jockey Club, are respectfully invited, and who will be pleased to signify the same to

Col. Maurice Simons	}	Stewards
Capt. R. P. Saunders		
Major Allston		

[1785, January 11, S. C. State Gazette & Daily Advertiser]

*Newmarket Races:* Horses entered to run this day for the first purse, to start precisely at twelve o'clock:

<i>Victorious</i>	Rider in green
<i>Apollo</i>	Scarlet
<i>Brilliant</i>	Light blue
<i>Romulus</i>	Pink
<i>Coxcomb</i>	Yellow

For the second purse, tomorrow, to start precisely at eleven:

*Telemachus*  
*Shadow*

For the third purse, the same day, to start at one precisely:

*Small Hopes*  
*Single Peeper*  
*DuCalb*  
*Cub.*

[1785, January 12, S. C. State Gazette & Daily Advertiser]

Newmarket Races, Tuesday, Jan. 11.

*First Purse:*

<i>Romulus</i>	1	1
<i>Coxcomb</i> [See p. 55]	2	3
<i>Victorious</i>	3	4
<i>Brilliant</i>	4	2
<i>Apollo</i>	distanced	

*Second Purse:*

<i>Shadow</i>	1
<i>Telemachus</i>	dist.

*Third Purse:*

<i>DuCalb</i>	1	1
<i>Small Hopes</i>	2	2
<i>Single Peeper</i>	3	
<i>Cub</i>	4	

While the horses were running the second heat, a horse in a chaise took fright, and at a critical moment stopped on the course between the two first and two last horses. Single Peeper leaped over and cleared the chaise; but Cub ran against and overset it. The rider was much hurt.

[1785, February 5, S. C. State Gazette & Daily Advertiser]

A subscription purse will be run for over Childbury Course, the first Tuesday in March, 1785, free for any horse, mare, gelding, colt, or filley, the best two in three four mile heats; aged horses carrying 9 stone, mares and fillies allowed 3 lb.

It is requested the subscriptions may be paid in on or before the day of starting to

Edward Harleston.

[1785, October 19, Columbian Herald or Patriotic Courier of North America]

The State Borough Races on the High-Hills, Santee, will commence on the 24th of November next. It will be one of the largest purses ever run for in this state, and free for any horse, gelding, mare, colt or filly.

[1785, November 28, Columbian Herald or Patriotic Courier of North America]

On Tuesday the 15th inst. was run for over the course at Augusta, four mile heats, the Jockey Club Purse of one hundred guineas, by

*Telemachus*

Col. Leonard Marbury of Virginia:  
started by Major Fra. Willis.

*Hector*

Mr. Webb of Virginia: started by  
Major Fra. Willis.

*Old Trooper*

Capt. Johnson.

*Big Grey*

Capt. Garrett.

*Apollo*

Capt. Lamar.

The first heat taken by Hector; the second and third by Telemachus, who distanced all the second heat but Hector, and more than double distanced him the third.



On Wednesday, two mile heats, a purse of fifty guineas, by

<i>Escape</i>	Entered by Capt. Wagnon
<i>Tippoo Saib</i> (a grey)	Capt. Garrett
<i>Slim</i>	Capt. Marbury
<i>Nancy Dawson</i>	Major Jenkins
<i>Shelalie</i>	Doctor Lauder
<i>Whynot</i>	Mr. Willison
<i>Old Trooper</i>	Capt. Johnson
<i>Shakespear</i>	Capt. O'Neal.

The first and second heats taken by *Escape*, who distanced all the first but *Tippoo Saib*, and more than double distanced him the second.

On Thursday, the Colts Purse of thirty guineas, one mile heats, by

<i>Flying Childers</i>	Major Jenkins
<i>Merry Tom</i>	Doctor Dysart
<i>Janus</i>	Capt. Lamar
<i>Rockingham</i>	Col. Milton
<i>A Bay More</i>	Capt. Garrett
<i>Hector</i>	Major Willis
<i>Independence</i>	Doctor Lauder.

The first and second heats by *Childers*. *Hector* and *Independence* were distanced the first, and all the rest the second.

The whole was concluded with an elegant assembly, at which were present about thirty ladies, who danced 'till half past four o'clock in the morning.

### 1786

[1786, January 5, Columbian Herald or Independent Courier of North America]

On Monday the 9th instant the Annual Meeting of the Jockey Club will be held at the City Tavern, at six o'clock in the evening; where the members are requested to attend on business and pay their subscriptions agreeable to the rules of the club. On the day following the races will commence at New-Market, near Charleston.

The first purse to be run for by stud horses or mares, four mile heats, carrying weight, as follows: Aged, 10 stone; six years old, 9 stone, 6 lbs.; five years old, 8 stone, do.

The second purse to be run for on the day following (Wednesday), three mile heats, carrying weight as follows: five years old, 8 stone; four years old, 7 stone.

And the third purse, two mile heats, carrying weight as follows: four years old, 8 stone; three years old, 7 stone; two years old, a feather.

No horse, mare, colt or filly, will be permitted to enter without producing a certificate of their age from under the hand of the breeder to the Stewards, who will attend at the City Tavern on Saturday evening preceding the race, from 6 to 8 o'clock, after which time none can be entered without paying double entrance.

[1786, January 5, State Gazette of S. C.]

Tomorrow the races commence at Newmarket, near this city.

[1786, January 16, State Gazette of S. C.]

#### New-Market Races

On Tuesday last a purse of one hundred guineas was run for over the New Market course, near this city, by

Mr. Quash's horse	<i>Coxcomb</i>
Col. Hampton's horse	<i>Romulus.</i>
Mr. Bellinger's horse	<i>Royal Oak</i> [See p. 215]

The first heat was taken by Romulus, the second and third by Coxcomb.

At starting great odds in favor of Romulus which were increased after the first heat, but on the second he fell lame, and ruined the highly raised hopes of his equestrian friends.

On Wednesday, first purse seventy-five guineas was run for by

Mr. Macpherson's bay colt <i>Arab</i> ,
Mr. Bellinger's bay colt [Y.] <i>Shadow</i> ,
Col. Hampton's bay filly <i>Miss Sprightly</i> .

Mr. Bellinger's horse Shadow came in first the first heat, owing to the riders halting contrary to orders the second round. Mr. Bellinger's rider kept on & of course won the heat: but

was then drawn. The second and third heats were taken by Arab.

Second purse fifty guineas, was run for by

Colonel Washington's grey colt	<i>Ranger,</i>
W. Hampton's filly	<i>Arabia.</i>

Ranger distanced Arabia.

[1786, February 10, Charleston Evening Gazette]

*Notice:* The Ashpoo subscription purses will commence and be run for the first Tuesday and Wednesday in March next ensuing, at the course next the ferry; free for any horse, mare or gelding. To consist of two mile heats, carrying weights as follows:

Tuesday's Purse, aged horses, 10 stone, 140 lb.; six years old, 9 stone, 4 lb., 130 lb.; five years old, 8 stone, 4 lb., 116 lb.

Wednesday's purse, four years old, 112 lb.; three years old, 98 lb.; two years old, a feather.

It is wished, a majority at least of the subscribers will attend the 18th inst. at Mr. Arthur Hughes's tavern, Ashpoo, previous to the races, for choosing officers to conduct the same. The great encouragement already promised for the above races, every pains is taken with the old race course, to have it in compleat order, for annual racing. Therefore such other gentlemen as would wish to become subscribers, in order to countenance and promote, as well future as the present intended races (the latter being merely an introduction in this part of the southward) will please to signify the same, either by a personal application or letter, to Dr. William Webb, or Mr. J. Gogg; on the spot, in whose hands are the subscription rules.

Ashpoo, Feb. 8.

## 1787

[1787, January 4, Charleston Morning Post & Daily Advertiser]

Those gentlemen who delight in Equestrian sports will in all probability, be amply gratified at the ensuing races; as a great number of fleet horses are intended to be entered.

[1787, January 10, Charleston Morning Post & Daily Advertiser]

The following horses are entered to run at Newmarket:  
For the first purse, 290 guineas:

Mr. Quash's *Coxcomb*, aged  
Major Harleston's [Y.] *Flinnap*, aged  
Col. Hampton's *Kitty Fisher*, 5 years, to carry 117 lb.  
Col. Washington's *Ranger*, 5 years, 120 lbs.

For the second purse, 112 guineas:

Major Harleston's *Justice* [See p. 215], 4 years, 98 lb.  
Mr. N. Farr's *Adventurer*, 4 years, 98 lb.  
Col. Washington's *Conastoga*, 4 years, 98 lb.  
Mr. Edwards' *Eclipse*, 5 years, 112 lb.

For the third purse, 75 guineas:

Mr. Benjamin Waring's *Pompey*, a feather.  
Mr. John J. Haig's *Milk Maid*, 3 years, 98 lb.  
Col. Hampton's *Columbia*, 3 years, 98 lb.  
Mr. N. Farr's *Cleopatra*, a feather.  
Col. Washington's *Oronoko*, 3 years, 98 lb.

City Purse, about 100 gs.

Col. Hampton's *Miss Sprightly*, 5 years  
Mr. J. Williamson's *Selim*, 140 lb.  
Col. Washington's *Chevalier*, 6 years, 132 lb.

[1787, January 11, Charleston Morning Post & Daily Advertiser]

Yesterday commenced the races at New-Market near this city, when the following horses started for the Plate of 290 guineas:

Col. Washington's *Ranger*,  
Col. Hampton's *Kitty Fisher*,  
Mr. Quash's *Coxcomb*,  
Major Harleston's *Flinnap*.

Ranger won the purse.

[1787, January 12, Charleston Morning Post & Daily Advertiser]

*New-Market Races:* Yesterday was run for, the second Jockey Club Purse, of 112 guineas, by

Mr. Edwards's *Eclipse*,  
Major Harleston's *Justice*,  
Mr. Nathaniel Farr's *Adventurer*, and  
Col. Washington's *Conostoga*.

Conostoga and Adventurer were distanced the first heat, and Justice the second. Eclipse carried the purse.

Eclipse is Virginia bred, but Justice and Adventurer are imported horses.

[1787, January 13, Charleston Morning Post & Daily Advertiser]

*New-Market Races:* Yesterday the third purse of 75 guineas was run for by

Colonel Hampton's *Columbia*,  
Colonel Washington's *Oronoko*,  
Mr. Benjamin Waring's *Pompey*, and  
Mr. John Haig's *Milk Maid*.

Columbia carried the purse.

[1787, February 13, Charleston Morning Post & Daily Advertiser]

*Notice:* The Ashpoo Annual Subscription Purses will again commence and be run for the first Tuesday and Wednesday in March next ensuing, at the usual place, free for any horse, mare or gelding.

First purse weight: aged, 9 st.; six years old, 8 st., 7 lb.; five years old, 8 st.

Second purse weight: five years old, 8 st.; four years, do. 7 st.; three years, do., 6 st.; two years do., a feather.

It is requested and expected that all the subscribers will pay their subscription money before the horses start to one of the stewards, or to Daniel Doyley, Esq. in Charleston, No. 79 Bay, in whose hands are the rules.

[1787, November 15, Columbian Herald or Independent Courier of North America]

*Stateburgh Races:* An annual meeting of the Stateburgh Jockey Club will be held at Powell's Tavern, on the High Hills of Santee, on Monday the 19th day of November next; when it is requested that the members will give their punctual attendance to transact the business of the day.

The races to commence on the following day; and from the number of horses in training considerable sport may be expected.

High-Hills, Sept. 29.

Charles Myddelton John Mayrant Laurence Manning	}	Stewards.
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### 1788

[1788, January 7, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

The City Purse (by subscription) will be run for on Saturday the 12th inst. over the New-Market course, the horses to be entered at Mr. Creighton's on or before Tuesday next, 12 o'clock, subject to the rules and regulations of the Stewards appointed by a committee of the subscribers.

[1788, January 14, Columbian Herald or Independent Courier of North America]

*New-Market:* Wednesday last began the races, when the following horses were entered and run for the

*Jockey Club Plate:*

Capt. Twining's *Comet*,  
Colonel Washington's horse *Ranger*,  
Colonel Wade Hampton's *Alligator*,  
Major Butler's *Justice*,  
Mr. Quash's *Coxcomb*, and  
Capt. Lewis's *Wilton Grey*.

The purse was won with uncommon ease by *Comet*.

*Jockey Club Purse, Thursday:*

Colonel Hampton's *Chatham*,  
Captain Allston's *Catatche*,  
Colonel Washington's *Conestoga*,  
Mr. Fenwicke's *Adventurer*.

Col. Hampton's *Chatham* took the first and second heat with ease.

*Colts Plate, Friday:*

Gen. Sumter's *Statesburg*,  
Col. Washington's *Oronoko*,  
Doctor Haig's *Milk Maid*,  
Mr. Fenwicke's *Cleopatra*,  
Capt. Allston's *Mercury*.

First and second heats by General Sumpter's *Statesburg*, with ease.

*City Purse, Saturday:*

Capt. Allston's *Comet*,  
Col. Lewis' *Wilton Grey*,  
Col. Hampton's *Eclipse*,  
Major Butler's *Justice*,  
Mr. Quash's *Coxcomb*.

*Wilton Grey* drawn 2d heat; *Eclipse* distanced 2d heat; *Coxcomb* distanced 1st heat. *Comet* took the purse.

[1788, February 7, *City Gazette* or *Daily Advertiser*]

Columbia Races will commence on Tuesday the 19th inst. The members of the Columbia Jockey Club are requested to meet at Columbia the Monday preceding the races, to transact business and elect officers for the ensuing year.

Gentlemen who may wish to become members of the Club will please call on Col. Thomas Taylor, or Col. Richard Hampton.

[1788, March 3, *City Gazette* or *Daily Advertiser*]

The Course Races at Parker's Ferry [of Edisto] are postponed till the third Tuesday in March.

[1788, March 24, State Gazette of S. C.]

Last Tuesday commenced the races at Parker's Ferry [of Edisto]. Colonel Washington's Oronoko took the first purse, and Capt. Lewis's Wilton Grey the second.

During its race meet in January, 1788, the second South Carolina Jockey Club developed domestic difficulties, the nature of which does not appear in the surviving record. All we know is that within two weeks after the Charleston meeting last recorded, enough members of the Club declined to pay their subscriptions to precipitate a dissolution. The extant documents are as follows:

[1788, January 21, Columbian Herald or Independent Courier of North America]

The members of the *late* Jockey Club, who are in arrears, are requested to pay the same to the subscribers at No. 103 Church Street on or before the 1st of March next; and all defaulters after that day will be sued, agreeable to a resolve of the Club, held at the City Tavern on Tuesday the 8th instant.

James Miller, Treasurer.

[1789, April 27, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Notice:* The members in arrears to the *Old* Jockey Club, are requested to call on General Pinckney (in whose hands the accounts are lodged) and pay their respective balances, whose receipt will be sufficient, there being no other person duly authorized to receive or give discharges. Should any orders but those of general Pinckney's appear, it is desired that no attention will be paid to them.

James Miller, Treasurer.

## 1789

That a new and third South Carolina Jockey Club was organized in January, 1788, immediately after the dissolution of the second, is implicit in the form of the advertisements of the liquidation of the second club above quoted; and this deduction is confirmed by the entries in the Carolina Almanack of following years, which testified that 'The Jockey Club' then functioning was organized in 1788.



There is, however, no contemporary evidence that the new club held a race meeting in 1789. All the racing news we have for that year is Irving's statement that it was then that William Allston introduced to the S. Carolina turf his Betsy Baker (ch. m. by \*Flinnap, bred by Willie Jones in North Carolina), when she beat Gen. Hampton's Comet, four mile heats. Where the match was run we do not know.

With the racing season for this year the evidence is that the new Jockey Club was in active function:

[1790, February 17, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Jockey Club:* Resolved, that the members of the Club meet on Monday, the first of March next, at 6 o'clock in the evening at Mr. Williams's coffee house, to transact the business of the Club and pay their subscriptions.

Resolved, that all horses, mares, colts and fillies be entered with the Stewards of the Club on Monday evening, the first of March, at seven o'clock. Every gentleman who enters a horse, mare, gelding, colt or filly, to pay twenty shillings into the hands of Mr. Creighton, which is to be applied to the expence of putting the course in repair.

William Washington,  
Chairman.

[1790, February 24, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Jockey Club:* The members are requested to meet at Williams's coffee house, on Saturday evening the 27th instant, at seven o'clock for the admission of such gentlemen as wish to become members.

[1790, Irving, iv, 13]

#### New-Market Races

March 2 *Four mile heats:*

Col. Washington's ch. m. <i>Rosetta</i> , by *Centinel	1	1
Col. Allston's <i>Betsy Baker</i> , ch. m. by *Flinnap	2	2
Mr. Fenwick's <i>Cincinnatus</i>		
Mr. Scott's <i>Independence</i>		

March 3 *Three mile heats:*

Gen. Hampton's <i>Great Mogul</i>	1	1
Col. Washington's <i>Flora</i>	2	2
Mr. Fenwick's <i>Dungannon</i>	3	dist.

Dungannon bolted in second heat.

[1790, March 5, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

## New-Market Races

March 4 *Two mile heats:*

Col. McPherson's colt *Wanton*  
 Capt. Hughes' colt *Cephalus* [by \*Friar. See p. 214].  
 Mr. Davis's *Plenipo*  
 Mr. Harleston's *Corn Planter*  
 Mr. Quash's mare *Diana*  
 Mr. Moultrie's grey mare *Deianeira*, and  
 Col. Washington's mare.

Cephalus took the first heat, and Wanton the second and third.

[1790, March 5, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*City Purse:* By subscription, to be run for on Friday the 5th instant, over New Market course, the best of three four mile heats, by any horse, mare or gelding, winning horses of this meeting excepted, and carrying weight as under:

Aged horses 124; six years old 130; five years do., 120; four do., 106; three do., a feather.

The horses to be entered with Mr. Williams at the coffee house, on Thursday preceding the race. The riders to be dressed in silk.

[1790, March 6, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

## New-Market Races.

March 5 *Started:*

Capt. Allston's *Betsey Baker*, and  
 Colonel Thomson's *Slouch*.

Betsey Baker took the first and second heats.

[1790, March 8, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

New-Market Races,

March 6 Started:

Capt. Allston's *Comet*  
Col. Washington's *Apollo*  
Mr. Scott's *Independence*.

Comet took the two heats.

[1790, January 22, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

Thursday began the Columbia races, when three horses started, viz:

Col. Thompson's grey h. *Old Danger* (formerly called Slouch, but no longer so under penalty of a five pound bowl of punch).  
Mr. Scott's bay horse *Independence*.  
Mr. Hall's bay horse *Alliance*.

*Independence* won the first heat, *Old Danger* the second and third.

Friday, December 15:

Gen. Sumter's *Plenipo*,  
Mr. Evans' bay mare *Venus*,  
Col. Hampton's b. h. *Ulysses*,  
Mr. Reves's b. m. *Poll Downes*,  
Major Goodwyne's *Jenny-bang-the-Weaver*.

*Venus* won the first heat, *Plenipo* the second and third.

On Friday evening there was a subscription ball, which was held in the State House, the company being so numerous. The ball was opened with a minuet by Jacob Read, Esq. and Mrs. Howell; country dances soon after commenced, which were continued with great propriety and decorum until about one o'clock, when the company sat down to supper, at which politeness, friendship and vivacity were eminently conspicuous.

[1790, January 23, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Pocotaligo races*: On Tuesday the 12th the Jockey Club purse was run for and won by

Mr. Fenwick's bay horse *Cincinnatus*.

On Wednesday, the 12th, the Colts Purse was run for and won by

Mr. Fenwick's bay colt *Dungannon*.

[1790, March 26, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

On Tuesday the 9th instant commenced the races at Beaufort.

First day's purse:

Mr. Fenwicke's horse *Oronoko*

General Barnwell's filly *Ithe*

Mr. Lewis's horse *Wilton Grey*

Dr. Maxwell's filly *Miss Modesty*.

*Ithe* and *Miss Modesty* flew the course; Mr. Fenwicke's *Oronoko* took the purse.

Second day's purse:

Mr. Bellinger's colt *Rattle-the-Cash*

Mr. Fenwicke's colt *Busiris*

Mr. Pelott's filly *Camilla*

Col. McPherson's colt *Wanton*

Dr. Maxwell's filly *Miss Modesty*

Mr. Hearn's filly *Camilla*, and

Major Wigg's bay filly.

Major Wigg's bay filly flew the course. *Miss Modesty* and Mr. Pelott's filly *Camilla* were distanced the first heat, and Mr. Bellinger's colt *Rattle-the-Cash* took the purse.

[1790, March 26, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Sporting Intelligence:* On Tuesday last a match was run for over the course at Parker's Ferry [of Edisto], by Mr. Fenwicke's bay colt *Dungannon* and Col. Hampton's Great Mogul, two mile heats.

Dungannon	2	1	1
Mogul	1	2	2

At starting the bets were two to one in favor of Mogul.

[1790, August 17, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

Georgetown Races will commence on the second Tuesday in December next.

First day's purse, four mile heats, aged horses to carry 140; six years old, 136; five do., 126; four do., 114.

Second day, three mile heats, five years old to carry 112; four do., 98; three do., 84.

Third day, two mile heats, four years old to carry 112; three do., 98; two do., a feather.

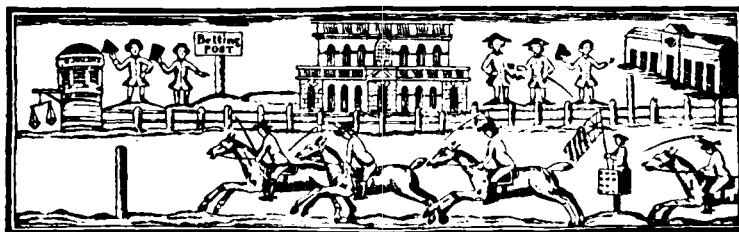
John Allston	}	Stewards.
William Allston		
John Holmes		

[1790, October 21, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Statesburg Races:* The members of the Statesburg Jockey Club are requested to attend their annual meeting at Statesburg on Monday, 22 of next month; and the Stewards give notice that the races will commence the day following.

John Mayrant	}	Stewards.
William Mayrant		
Huberd Rees		

## 1791



[1790, October 16, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Charleston Jockey Club:* A meeting of the members of the Jockey Club is requested at McCrady's on Wednesday evening next at six o'clock on business of importance.

Laurence Campbell, Secretary.

[1791, March 2, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

This day commence the races.

The following horses were entered last evening; to start each day precisely at 12 o'clock.

*First day's purse:*

	<i>Dress</i>
<i>Betsey Baker</i> , W. Allston	Green
<i>Rosetta</i> , W. Washington	Blue

*Second day's purse:*

<i>Whistle Jacket</i> , Col. Thompson [See p. 97]	
<i>Dungannon</i> , E. Fenwick	Red and White
<i>Candidate</i> , J. Bellinger	Blue
<i>Cincinnatus</i> , James Burn	Orange
<i>Mercury</i> , S. Wigfall	Buff
<i>Plenipo</i> , T. Sumter	Purple
<i>Wanton</i> , J. McPherson	Green

*Third day's purse:*

<i>Pantaloon</i> , W. Moultrie, jun.	Orange
<i>Angelina</i> , E. Fenwick	Red and White
<i>Battledore</i> , J. Irvin	
<i>Munster Lass</i> , S. St. John	Green
<i>Wanton</i> , J. McPherson	Green
<i>Ugly</i> , T. Sumpter	Purple
<i>Cephalus</i> , H. Hughes	
<i>Sampson</i> , Z. Fuller	
<i>Childers</i> , W. Washington	Blue
<i>Aeolus</i> , J. Bellinger	Buff.

[1791, March 7, State Gazette of S. C.]

Sporting Intelligence. On Wednesday last commenced New-Market Races, when the following horses started:

*First day's Purse:*

<i>Betsy Baker</i>	W. Allston
<i>Rosetta</i>	W. Washington

The first and second heats were taken by Betsy Baker.

*Second day's Purse:*

<i>Cincinnatus</i>	J. Burns (late E. Fenwick's)
<i>Plenipo</i>	T. Sumter
<i>Whistle Jacket</i>	Col. Thompson
<i>Dungannon</i>	E. Fenwick
<i>Candidate</i>	J. Bellinger
<i>Mercury</i>	S. Wigfall
<i>Wanton</i>	J. McPherson

The first heat was taken by Plenipo, and the second and third by Cincinnatus (three mile heats).

*Third day's Purse:*

<i>Ugly</i>	T. Sumter
<i>Pegasus</i>	M. Wilkinson
<i>Pantaloon</i>	W. Moultrie, jun.
<i>Angelina</i>	E. Fenwick
<i>Battledore</i>	J. Irvin
<i>Munster Lass</i>	S. St. John
<i>Wanton</i>	J. McPherson
<i>Cephalus</i>	H. Hughes
<i>Sampson</i>	Z. Fuller
<i>Childers</i>	W. Washington
<i>Aeolus</i> [by *Royal Oak]	J. Bellinger

The first heat was taken by Pegasus, and the second and third by Ugly.

*Fourth day's Merchants' Purse:*

<i>Comet,</i>	W. Allston, and a
<i>Horse of</i>	W. Washington's.

First and second heats by Comet.

[1791, March 7, 'State Gazette of S. C.]

Jacksonborough Races will commence on Tuesday the 22 instant, the first day's purse to be free to any horse, mare or gelding, carrying as follows: Aged, 126 lb.; six years old, 119 lb.; five years old, 112 lb.

Second day's purse to be run for by Carolina bred horses, mares, and geldings carrying as follows: Four years old, 98

lb.; three years old, 84 lb.; two years old, a feather. A deduction of 3 lb. for mares and fillies.

The subscribers are requested to be ready as to their subscriptions on the first day before the horses are started.

Thomas Gough, Treasurer.

*The fourth South Carolina Jockey Club, 1791-1899:* At the end of the season of 1791 the third South Carolina Jockey Club was also in economic straits and a new reorganization was necessary. The decision was then made to abandon the old New-Market Course and by subscription to a new (and fourth) South Carolina Jockey Club establish that Washington Course whose gate posts now stand at Belmont Park on Long Island in New York to bear mute witness in the modern world to the turf glory which Carolina sustained from 1792 down to the War between the States.

As Irving has preserved the detailed Racing Calendar for this period, the present record may appropriately end with the public documents for the inauguration of the Washington Course, and the ultimate dissolution of the fourth Jockey Club in 1900, when the Washington Course and other property were turned over to the Charleston Library Society, viz:

[1791, August 1, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Jockey Club:* The attendance of the members is particularly requested at Mr. McCrady's, on Thursday evening the 4th instant, at eight o'clock, on business of material consequence.

Lau. Campbell, Secretary.

[1791, August 6, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Charleston Jockey Club:* Notice is hereby given, to the members in arrears (agreeable to a resolution of the Club of this date) that unless they respectively pay the same, before the expiration of three months, their names will be read off the Club list, and suits commenced against them.

N. B. A list of the defaulters is left with the Secretary, in absence of the Treasurer, to whom applications must be made.

By order of the President.

Lau. Campbell, Secretary.



[1791, August 9, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Notice:* The gentlemen who have subscribed for the purchase of the New Race Course are requested to meet at McCrady's on Friday evening, the 12th instant, at 7 o'clock.

[1791, October 26, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Jockey Club:* A special meeting of the Jockey Club is requested to be holden on Saturday next, at seven o'clock in the evening, at McCrady's tavern, on business of importance; a full attendance of the members is requested.

By order of the President

Lau. Campbell, Secretary.

[1791, November 8, City Gazette or Daily Advertiser]

*Notice—Jockey Club:* At a meeting held at McCrady's on the 29th of October, 1791, it was resolved that the ensuing races be postponed to the third Wednesday, being the 15th of February next, when they will be run, over the Washington Course, near Charleston.

A meeting of the Club is requested, at McCrady's precisely at 6 o'clock, in the evening preceding the day of the races, to elect officers and transact other necessary business.

Published by order

John McPherson	} Stewards.
Lewis Morris	
John B. Irving	

The decision to dispose of the property was taken at a meeting of the South Carolina Jockey Club, held in Charleston, December 29, 1899, Theodore G. Barker, President, in the chair. The preamble and resolutions then adopted, which did equal credit to the heads and the hearts of all concerned, were as follows:

*'Whereas* the prospect of restoring the amusement of horse racing on a respectable and financially safe footing has been proved to be hopeless, and the South Carolina Jockey Club finds itself the owner of property which can no longer be utilized for the purpose for which the Club was formed.

*'Resolved* that the remaining property and assets of the South Carolina Jockey Club, after paying or providing for the payment of all and every of the debts and liabilities of the Club, shall be conveyed by

---

the Club to Trustees as an endowment, to be known as the South Carolina Jockey Club Endowment, to and for the use of the Charleston Library Society of Charleston, South Carolina, in fee simple and perpetuity. . . .

*'Resolved* that upon the completion of such transfer the Charter of the South Carolina Jockey Club shall be surrendered and the Club dissolved.'

The property so turned over consisted of 'the large and valuable tract of land on Rutledge Avenue upon which the Race Track known as the Washington Race Course has been located for over a century', a farm adjoining, and securities of a cash value of \$13,500. This constituted 'the largest gift ever made by living persons to any institution in this city' and, as was further testified by the resolutions of the Library Society, when it was accepted, placed that ancient institution 'upon a firm basis'.

## APPENDIX

*Other notable horses represented on the Carolina turf  
during the eighteenth century.*

1. The Narragansett pacer.
2. The Chickasaw horse.
3. Virginia horses in Carolina.
4. Mayrant's \*Skim and \*Dutchess.
5. Moultrie's \*Starling.
6. Wilkinson's Noble (best son of Fenwick's \*Brutus).
7. Williamson's \*Cade.
8. Horry's \*Sprightly and \*Mask (and here also of \*Sportsman).
9. Elliott's \*Barrock Billy and \*Daffodil.
10. Drayton's \*Pharaoh.
11. Huger's Prince.
12. Hume's \*Tartar.
13. Riddle's \*Childers.
14. Middleton's \*Babraham, \*Lofty and Abdallah.
15. Rutledge's \*Moro.
16. Waring's \*Friar.
17. Bellinger's \*Royal Oak and \*Justice.
18. Hyde's \*Mexican.
19. Crockett's \*Obscurity.
20. The Charles Town Plate, 1763-1773.

1. *The Narragansett pacer*: The history of this interesting and now extinct horse, a swift natural pacer, of a uniform 'sorrel' coat, which was, before the American Revolution, the staple of a flourishing export trade from Rhode Island to the West Indies, has been the subject of curious research; but only in the North. Wallace traced the Rhode Island horse trade to the entertaining letter (quoted by Watson) written in 1711 by Rip van Dam (1662-1736), the New York merchant trading to the West Indies, who was President of the Council and sometime acting governor of New York, and is to be met in the pleasant pages of Diedrich Knickerbocker; and Phillips carried the record back to 1648; showing also, from Massachusetts records, how the astonishing surplus supply of horses available throughout New England had made them, even earlier, a staple of a general export trade; but, although Phillips adduces specific evidence for pacing horses in New England in 1684, neither he nor Wallace was able convincingly to date the appearance of the historical *Narragansett* pacer.

As these authorities did not know that the first horse introduced into Carolina for breeding purposes came from Rhode Island and was soon described as a 'pacing horse', the testimony from the South, here adduced, becomes more than locally significant.

In his *Account of the Province of Carolina* (1682) Samuel Wilson said:

'There have been imported into Carolina about an hundred and fifty Mares and some Horses, from New York *and Rhoad Island*; which breed well and the coalts they have are finer lim'd and Headed than their Dams or Sires. Which gives great hopes of an excellent breed of Horses as soon as they have gotten good stalions amongst them'.

In the same year (1682) a young 'clerk of Oxenford', Thomas Newe, who had recently come to Carolina to seek his fortune and, like many of his successors, found himself

disapprobative in the presence of things which differed from accepted English standards, wrote to his father:

'The first stock [of cowes, the Carolinians] were furnished with from Bermudas and New England: *from the latter of which* they had their horses; which are not so good as those in England but by reason of their scarcity much dearer, an ordinary Colt at 3 years old being valued at 15 or 16 lis. As they are scarce so there is but little use of them yet, all Plantations being seated on the Rivers they can go to and fro by Canoo or Boat as well and as soon as they can ride. The horses here, like the Indians and many of the English do, travail without shoes'.

In 1708 an official report of the Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson (McCrady, i, 476), testifies to the active commerce then still maintained by Carolina with Rhode Island, here again specified; and the fact that this continued to include Narragansett horses is proven by the advertising pages of the earliest issues of the first Carolina newspaper, viz:

[1734, May 11, S. C. Gazette]

'To be sold, one hundred head of neat cattle, forty head of mares (several of them being pacing mares) and young horses, *and a Rhode Island pacing stallion*. Any person being inclined to purchase the same, may treat with Edward North at Pon Pon, or with Wm. Roper in Charles Town. N. B. The one will not be sold without the other'.

[1734, September 11, S. C. Gazette]

'To be sold, two Rhode Island Stallions, natural pacers, they are both 15 hands high, by

Edward VanVelsen'.

[1734/5, January 11, S. C. Gazette]

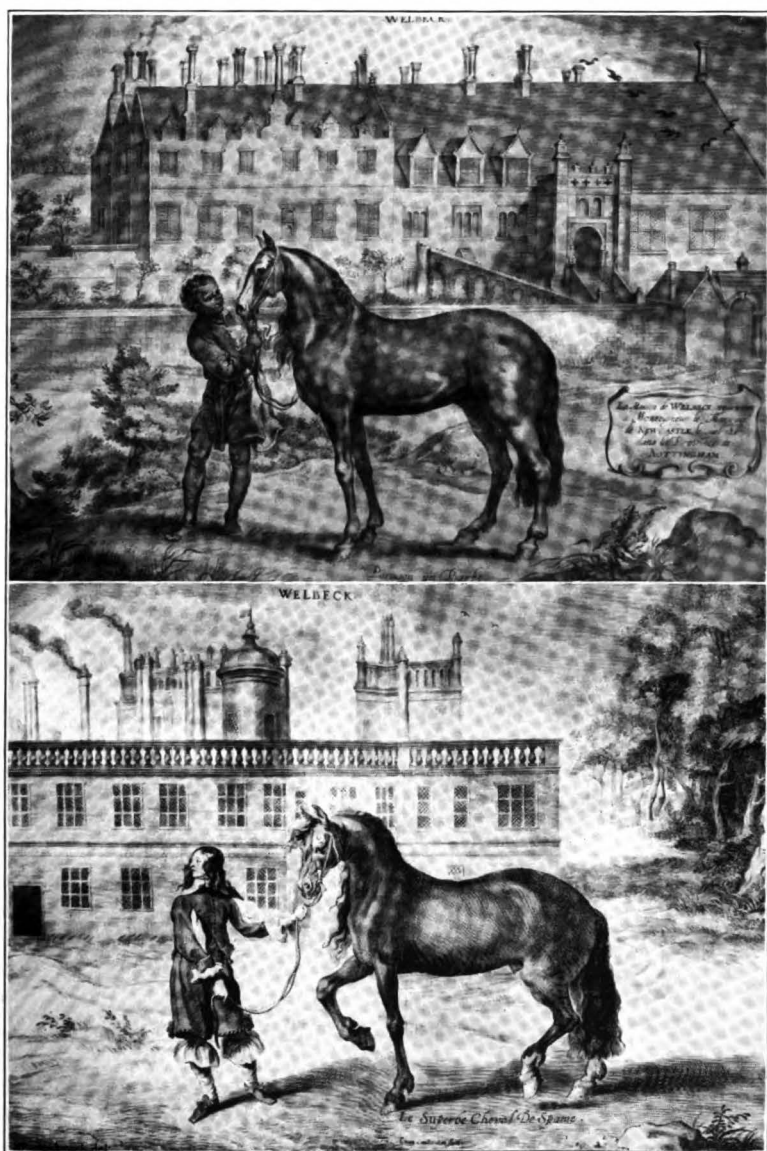
'To be sold, by Nath. Potter at his store at Mr. Wm. Pinckney's, several Rhode Island pacing horses, molasses, cyder . . . '

[1735, November 8, S. C. Gazette]

'A very good Rhode Island pacing horse to be sold by Mr. Carvalho in Elliot's Street'.

[1737/8, January 1, S. C. Gazette]

'Just imported in the schooner Sterling, from Rhode Island, Othniel Tripp master, very good cyder . . . and a fine pacing horse, to be sold



TYPES OF THE BARB AND SPANISH HORSE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

very reasonable on board the said schooner, where the said master is to be spoke with, or at Capt. Pinckney's'.

[1739/40, February 22, S. C. Gazette]

'Just imported and to be sold by Peleg Peckham on board the sloop Orange-Tree at Mr. Burford's Bridge, good brandy . . . Rhode Island cheese and fine horses'.

As no breed of horses (or, indeed, any animal) transmitting inherited characteristics was ever improvised, these testimonies necessarily enforce Wallace's deduction that the Narragansett pacer was a much older breed than Mr. Hazard had suggested by his statement, made in 1846, that the founder of the breed was imported into Rhode Island from Andalusia by his grandfather, William Robinson (1693-1751). Governor Robinson is shown to have been a breeder of the stock about 1746, and may have refreshed the blood by importing an Andalusian horse; but the breed certainly antedated his activities.

When, therefore, in the lack of documents, we turn to the folk traditions we find explanations of the origin of the breed which, if picturesque, are fabulous. The stories range from (a) the capture by the earliest English settlers on Narragansett Bay of a horse running wild in the woods, identified by later conjecture as a feral survivor of horses brought to 'Vinland' by the Norsemen, as the Seminole horse was of those brought to Florida by the Spaniards; to (b) a horse found swimming at sea far from land.

That last tradition is truly delightful for, like the explanations of the origin of the Scottish 'galloway' from a horse which swam ashore from the wreck of one of the ships of the Spanish Armada, and of the Chincoteague pony of the Eastern Shore of Virginia from horses surviving the wreck of a Spanish ship in the seventeenth century, it suggests the persistence in folk tradition of the cult of Poseidon in his dual function of sea god and 'tamer of horses'. Pegasus, it will be remembered, was by Poseidon out of Medusa. A classical parallel for all the modern instances cited is the passage in the *Argo-*

*nautica* which tells how the Argonauts were stranded on the Libyan Syrtes, when

'there came to the Minyans a wonder, passing strange. From out the sea there leapt landwards a monster horse: huge was he with mane flowing in the wind. Peleus was glad, for then he knew that Poseidon himself, the saver of ships, would lift the Argo and let her go'.

Those curious in such things have traced the spread of the Libyan worship of Poseidon from N. Africa to Spain and thence to Scandinavia; and the tradition is brought still nearer to America by the Irish myth of MacLer [i. e., son of Poseidon], the patron of Celtic sailors, who drove west from Erin over the Atlantic in a chariot drawn by his horse called 'Splendid-mane'. Phillips should indeed be specifically interested in this Irish myth for his ingenious hypothesis (in support of which no proof is adduced) is that the Narragansett pacer descended from the ambling Irish 'hobby'.

Although the evidence is not so early as for Carolina, the Narragansett horse was, during the eighteenth century, naturalized also in the other southern colonies. Parson McSparran of Rhode Island seems to imply that they were in Virginia when he was there about 1725, though he is not clear on the point and may have been referring to the characteristic sustained hand gallop or 'lope' at which Virginians made their journeys as early as 1686, when the Huguenot Durand described the practice; but, in any event, if proof is lacking it is probable that the Narragansett horse was sent to Virginia and Maryland as early as he was to Carolina. Mr. Hazard, indeed, quoted reminiscences relating to a period about 1750, by an aged neighbor, 'that he had been to Virginia as one of the riding boys to return a similar visit of the Virginians in a contest on the turf; and that such visits were common with the racing sportsmen of Narragansett and Virginia when he was a boy'. Unfortunately, this statement cannot be checked by any corresponding testimony from Virginia, but it would take a cocksure historian to disregard it altogether; for the fact is that at some time not long after 1760



Thomas Mann Randolph I (1736-1797) of Tuckahoe in Virginia had a natural pacing stallion named Hyatoga, which when mated with half bred mares, reproduced his gait and chestnut coat, thereby founding the fully documented 'Hyatoga sort' which was later much affected by Methodist 'circuit riders'.

As advertisements testify the Narragansett blood found its way also into Maryland. In 1758 Matthew Dockery of Queen Anne's County advertised in the stud a young pacing horse which he described as:

[1758, April 13, MG]

*'Rantor . . . got by the famous Old Toby, well known to out pace everything on the continent that could be brought against him and also remarkable for getting the greatest number of useful nimble horses of any stallion that has ever been among us. Rantor, tho' but 3 years old, is a good deal larger than the old horse and esteemed the most promising colt of the breed'.*

This does not identify Old Toby as derived from Narragansett, but that description is applied by advertisements to the pacers cultivated in Maryland at the end of the century by Gen. Samuel Ringgold (1770-1829) and by other representative horsemen. The following Maryland advertisements are selected because of their description of the persistent characteristics of the breed:

[1794, April 2, Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser]

*'The Naraganset horse Traveller will stand this season, at Brookland Wood, the farm of Richard Caton.*

*'Traveller is a remarkably fine horse for the road, both as to gait and security; he can pace 12 to 14 miles in the hour; and goes uncommonly easy to himself and the rider at 8 miles in the hour. He is of a chestnut colour, inclined to a sorrel, 14 hands 3 inches high, round made, and very strong; is tractable, and free from vicious habits.*

*'Brookland Wood, March 27, 1794. Patrick Hayley, Overseer'.*

[1802, March 1, Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser]

*Mr. Gough's horse Narraganset stands at Perry-Hall, and will cover at eight dollars the season, and half a dollar to the groom. He was bred by colonel [Jeremiah] Wadsworth of New-England. He is well*

made; stout and handsome; a natural pacer and racker, which are remarkable easy to the rider; high spirited; lofty carriage and perfectly sure-footed; in short, he is an uncommonly fine saddle horse, and such an one as has been much wanted in Baltimore county for several years.

March 1.

William Dimmitt, junior,  
Manager at Perry-Hall.

From North Carolina at the same time come other testimonies which are significant in their detail, viz:

[1793, March 13, The North Carolina Journal, Halifax]

'*Free-and-Easy*, a full blooded Narraganset from the State of Rhode Island, bred by Gen. [Jeremiah] Wadsworth, will stand the ensuing season, at my house seven miles from Warrenton.

Thomas E. Sumner'.

[1799, March 11, The North Carolina Journal, Halifax]

'*Ranger*, a full bred Narraganset, will stand at my stable in the county of Warren, and will cover mares at the moderate price of six dollars the season.

'Warren, March 1.

Samuel Williams'.

[To this were appended the following certificates]

'The chestnut Narraganset horse *Ranger*, five feet high, was got by Young *Ranger*, foaled in the year 1789, bred by Mr. Andrew Frink, of Preston in New London county [Connecticut]; his dam was got by my horse *Humbird*, who was the sire of the horse I sold Mr. Potts of Philadelphia in 1776; his grand dam was got by a colt of Young *Snip*. He is a clean bred Narraganset horse, of the true *Snip* breed, as is within my knowledge, having not one drop of any other blood but from the Arabian imported Old *Ranger* [an interesting testimony to the earliest stand in America of the imported Arab, known in Virginia pedigrees as *Lindsey's Arabian*, q. v. *Bruce*, i, 145], who was his grand sire. The horse is now the property of Mr. Capen, of Hartford.

'Hartford, 10th Dec. 1798.

J. Halsey'.

'I, J. Capen, do hereby certify that I have sold the above chestnut stud horse *Ranger*, to Thomas Blount, of Tarborough, North Carolina; and I do moreover hereby pledge my word of honour the said horse

Ranger is a remarkable good foal getter, and at this time perfectly sound.

'Philadelphia, 15th Dec. 1798.

Josiah Capen'.

Judge William Williams of Tennessee (the 'Panton' of ATR) retained from his boyhood spent in North Carolina, through a long life, a vivid memory of these pacers in that community, and the reputation they had as freaks among the contemporary 'thoroughbred' horsemen on the Roanoke. More than half a century after he had seen them, and without the aid of the advertisements which we have now turned up, 'Panton' described them to 'Frank Forester' (i, 145), saying of Free and Easy, 'as was his name so was his pace', testifying also to his speed, and adding significantly, 'his like I have not seen'.

General Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743-1804) of Hartford, Connecticut (the ancestor of all the horsemen of his name in the Genesee valley of New York), who is named in two of these advertisements, seems to have been one of the last of the 'Yankee' breeders of this horse. Fenimore Cooper recorded the fact that in 1826 the breed was extinct in New England, and Mr. Hazard later added a local statistic from Rhode Island: 'in the year 1800 there was only one living'.

The tradition was not altogether lost, however. Eventually the Virginia Hyatogas reached Kentucky. An advertisement of 1822 in the *Kentucky Gazette* described what was then an historical character:

'The celebrated and well known Old Hyatoga of Col. Thomas M. Randolph [II, 1768-1828] of Albemarle County, Virginia, was a beautiful chestnut roan, whose colts generally paced from the time they had strength to move. He was the first and only one of the true breed that was ever brought to this state, by the Rev. B. Bennet; and died in Harrison county [Kentucky] at the age of 48 years'.

And it was in Kentucky that the Hyatogas met and mingled with the 'Copperbottom' breed of 'racking' horses imported from Canada by Captain Matthew Harris Jouett (1728-1827),

the portrait painter and son of Virginia's Paul Revere; and thus was produced the still persisting, if now unhappily rare 'five gaited' saddle horse.

'Frank Forester' explained the decay of the Narragansett breed by the early general substitution in New England of wheels for saddles, saying: 'I am satisfied that it is not possible to recreate the [Narragansett] horse, for the age of long journeys on horseback *or in private vehicles* has passed away for ever in the civilized countries of the world'. In an automobile age we are able to denounce Mr. Herbert as here a false prophet on one of his specifications. If he is hereafter to prove so also on the other, the pacing horse, if not the 'Narragansett pacer', may also reappear, for he was beyond all cavil the most comfortable nag for a long journey ever ridden in America; having spirit and speed as well.

**2. *The Chickasaw horse:*** The contemporary documents available in explanation of this Indian name at the taproot of many extended Carolina pedigrees are as follows:

[1745, December 16, S. C. Gazette]

'Several valuable saddle horses of the Chickasaw and Choctaw breed to be sold. Enquire of the Printer'.

[1763, September 22, Georgia Gazette]

'To be sold at Augusta on the 20th of October next at vendue a parcel of likely mares and horses of the Chickasaw breed . . .

John Rae'.

[1763, December 3, S. C. Gazette]

Edmund Bellinger's 'Chicasah mare Bonny Jane rising 5 years' won at Edmundsbury (Ashepoo) and in the same race 'Mr. Cochran's Chicasah horse Childers' was distanced.

[1764, October 4, Georgia Gazette]

'To be sold cheap by the subscriber, at Vale-Royal Plantation, a number of mares, stallions and geldings, of the Chickasaw blood. He will also engage to furnish a quantity to any gentleman that may chuse to put a flock of that kind upon a plantation or island, or to captains of vessels trading to the West Indies.

Lachlan Macgillivray'

[i. e., the Scottish father of the noted Creek chief, Alexander Macgillivray, 1740-1793].

[1786, September 7, Georgia Gazette]

'To be sold, a number of Chickasaw horses and mares, by the subscriber, at the plantation belonging to the estate of the late George M'Intosh, Esq., deceased, on Sapelo river.

J. M'Gillivray'.

At the end of the eighteenth century the name 'Chickasaw' had spread north from Carolina to connote, if not a breed, a *type* of desirable saddle horse derived from Spanish America.

John Davis and other travellers heard and recorded the name as then current in Virginia and Maryland in the same sense that the name 'mustang' was later used; and in confirmation there are the following advertisements:

[1796, March 15, Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser]

'Chickasaw will stand at the subscriber's on Elk-Ridge, about 13 miles from Baltimore, on the road from that place to Georgetown.

'His dam was a Tom, his sire a Chickasaw; he is 15 hands high, of a fine deep brown colour, approaching to black, seven years old, and is one of the finest saddle horses in America.

'Elk-Ridge, March 1.

William Spurrier'.

[1801, March 7, Norfolk Herald]

'The pure Chickasaw horse Spot stands the present season at my stable in Hampton. Spot was brought from South America about two years ago and has stood in great credit in the upper part of Virginia.

'Hampton, March 7.

George Hope'.

Commenting on the indian horse in Carolina, the historian Ramsay (1809, ii, 403) said:

'Before the year 1754 (*sic*) the best horses for the draft or saddle in Carolina were called the Chickasaw breed. These were originally introduced by the Spaniards into Florida and in the course of time had astonishingly increased. Great numbers ranged wild in and near the Apalache old field. Many of them were caught and tamed by the indians and sold to the traders. They made use of them for pack horses to bring their peltry to market and afterwards sold them in the low country. These horses in general were handsome, active and hardy, but small; seldom exceeding thirteen hands and a half in height. The mares in particular, when crossed with English blooded horses, produced colts of great beauty, strength and swiftness'.

Because Ramsay's statement, here quoted, was accepted and bruited by Irving (iii, 34), it has become the classical explanation of the 'Chickasaw' in American horse pedigrees; but it will be found to need interpretation when it is read with the general history of Carolina's colonial Indian trade and with other early testimonies for the horses of the Southern indians, viz:

[1775, James Adair]

'Almost every one [of the Chickasaws, Choctaws and Cherokees among whom Adair lived for 40 years prior to 1765] hath horses, from two to a dozen, which makes a considerable number through their various nations. The Cheerake hath a prodigious number of excellent horses . . . they are skilful jockies and nice in their choice, but a person runs too great a risk to buy any [of their horses] to take them out of the country because every spring season most of them make for their native range'.

[1791, William Bartram]

'The Siminole horses . . . are the most beautiful and sprightly species of that noble creature perhaps any where to be seen: but are of a small breed and as delicately formed as the American roe buck. A horse in the Creek or Muscogalge tongue is echocluccho, that is the great deer (echo is a deer and cluccho is big). The Siminole horses are said to descend originally from the Andalusian breed brought here by the Spaniards when they first established the colony of East Florida. From the forehead to their nose is a little arched or aquiline. . . .

'The fine Choctaw horses among the Upper Creeks are said to have been brought thither from New Mexico across the Mississippi by those nations of indians who emigrated from the west beyond the river. These horses are every way like the Siminole breed, only being larger and perhaps not so capricious'.

[1804, *Lewis & Clark*, iii, 23]

'[The plains horses] appear to be of an excellent race, lofty, elegantly formed, active and hardy; many of them appear like fine English coursers. Some of them are pied with large spots of white irregularly scattered, and intermixed with a dark brown bay; the greater part, however, are of an uniform colour, marked with stars and white feet; and in fleetness and bottom, as well as in form and colour, resemble the best blooded horses of Virginia.'

Bartram's statement is clear and convincing that the Indian horses known to Carolina in the middle of the eighteenth century, while all derived from feral Spanish horses, were of two distinct breeds, distinguished by their characteristics and places of origin, viz:

(1) the Seminole (or Creek) horse, small in size and capricious in nature, having its origin in Florida; and

(2) the Choctaw (or Chickasaw) horse, larger and more docile, having its origin in the plains west of the Mississippi river.

Ramsay apparently did not know this distinction. He described only one Indian horse, having its origin in Florida, acquired by Carolina from her immediate neighbours the Creeks and the Cherokees, for use in her pack horse trade. This was undoubtedly Bartram's 'Seminole' horse, and the fact that Ramsay, disregarding his own geography, called it a Chickasaw horse, can only mean that in his time 'Chickasaw' had become a synonym for all Indian horses.<sup>11</sup> So far as it serves, the contemporary evidence is that early in the eighteenth century the Carolina planters, wedded to the comforts of the Naragansett pacer, despised the pack horses brought in by the Indian traders as 'tackies'. There is no evidence at all that they esteemed any Indian horse as fit for the saddle and turf until after 1740; and it seems to follow that Bartram's 'Choctaw' horse, deriving from the plains west of the Mississippi river and, as Lewis & Clark (who knew Virginia racehorses) later testified, suitable for those superior purposes was not introduced into Carolina until long after Carolina's direct trade with the Chickasaw country had been lost to the French. Ramsay's statement seems, therefore, to include in the word 'Chickasaw' two breeds of horses, and his (consequently also Irving's)

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<sup>11</sup> The Chickasaws were a tribe resident on the head waters of the Tombigbee river in what we now know as northern Mississippi. Carolina traders were among them before 1700 and then won them to the English interest in opposition to their neighbours to the South, the Choctaws, who eventually became 'French Indians'. After years of inter-tribal war, fomented by Carolina and Louisiana respectively, the more numerous Choctaws finally, about 1723, dispossessed the Chickasaws; whereupon most of the Chickasaws migrated eastward, to live dispersed among the Creeks and Cherokees (See Crane, *Southern Frontier*).

In Carolina the word 'Chickasaw' long survived these events in a connotation of far western Indians. Thus the local highway which lead out of Charles Town to the trade factory at the falls of the Savannah river (Augusta), originally known as the 'Westoe' or 'Savanna' path, was throughout the eighteenth century consistently called the 'Chickasaw Path' because the trade with the Chickasaws had once followed it.



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picturesque remarks about the pack horse remain out of place in Carolina turf history.

While the date (1754) which Ramsay uses in that connection is no more than a rhetorical 'round number' to illustrate an assertion that the 'Chickasaw' horse was Carolina's main supply for the saddle and the turf until after the arrival of Fenwick's \*Brutus, that date is, as it happens, consistent with a thesis that the true Chickasaw horse was not introduced into Carolina earlier than 1740.

On this sequence it might be argued that in relation to Carolina the Chickasaw, as distinguished from the Creek, horse was a successor, not a contemporary, of the Narragansett pacer, and that the priority of the different breeds of saddle and turf, as distinguished from pack, horses in the service of Carolina was substantially as follows:

1. 1682-1740: The Narragansett (or Rhode Island) pacer.
2. 1740-1786: The Chickasaw (or 'Spanish' plains) horse.
3. 1755 and thenceforth: The English 'bred' horse.

**3. Virginia horses in Carolina:** Distracted by the noise Virginians have always made when talking about their horses, McCrady (ii, 518) said:

'Though it is usually supposed that the horses of Carolina were obtained from the Spaniards who had produced a remarkable breed in Florida, there can be little doubt that Virginia was the source of supply to this province'.

With such a local lead it is not surprising to find that Wallace, lacking evidence, should say (in his standard text book, *The Horse of America*):

'The foundation horse stock of South Carolina was obtained chiefly if not wholly from Virginia'.

The evidence hereinbefore collected will serve effectively to discredit these generalizations; but the fact remains that before 1767 there were Virginia horses in Carolina.

That fact does not seem to be due so much to a recognition so early of the qualities of the Virginia horse as to the accident that soon after 1750 there were established in the High Hills of Santee several emigrants from New Kent County, Virginia. Among these newcomers were Richard Richardson, John Singleton and his son Matthew, all horsemen and progenitors of horsemen; destined also to be distinguished revolutionary soldiers and to breed post-revolutionary governors.

It was this group which brought to Carolina some interesting Virginia horses for which testimonies have survived in their new environment, viz:

(a) *Byrd's \*Valiant*: The most distinguished of the early equine immigrants to Carolina from 'the northward' came out of the noted Westover Stud on James River. The Duke of Ancaster's Valiant, b. c.

1747, by the Ancaster Grasshopper (son of Pantons' Crab) out of the otherwise unidentified dam of the Ancaster Brisk (*q. v.* Pick, i, 352), was on the turf in England from 1751-1753. His breeding was identified in that last year when he won the Ladies' Purse at Lincoln for six year olds (See Heber, 1753, pp. 71, 140; he was not noted by Weatherby or Pick except among the get of his sire, GSB, i, 379; Pick, i, 47). At some time between 1753 and 1756 this Valiant was sent to Virginia, being imported by William Byrd III of Westover; the earliest American note of him being the record of a match race in May, 1757, in which Boothe's \*Janus beat Byrd's \*Valiant. Thereafter he is identified in Pennsylvania advertisements of 1763 and 1765 of the pedigrees of his sons, Byrd's Westover and Y. Valiant, both foaled in 1759, and then disappears from the Virginia record. That he was taken to South Carolina before 1763 and sent thence to Georgia is proven by the appearance on the Carolina turf in 1769 (p. 124) of a colt got by him; by the pedigree (p. 181) of Singleton's Effingham, a ch. c., undated, by \*Valiant out of a Skim mare, who survived the Revolution, was advertised in Carolina in 1784 and later found his way to Virginia (Edgar, p. 199); and, finally and specifically, by two Georgia Advertisements of 1763 and 1764, in which William Smith notified the stand at his plantation near Savannah of 'the high bred English horse Valiant'.

(b) *Ruffin's \*Crawford & his son Traveller*: Two early nineteenth century Virginia horsemen of antiquarian tastes, Randolph of Roanoke and 'Advocate', preserved in their notes from the lost files (1761-65) of the *Virginia Gazette* the record that in 1762 Robert Ruffin of 'Mayfield' in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, advertised at stud an imported gr. c. Crawford, described as bred by the Duke of Cumberland. 'Advocate' gave the breeding as 'out of one of the Duke's brood mares and from his own Arabian'. On this Edgar entered \*Crawford, extending an incredible breeding as by the 'Cumberland Arabian: Croft's Partner: Snake: Lyster Turk'; and Bruce (i, 15) repeated the entry, noting sagely, however, 'we cannot find this horse'.

When we turn to the Carolina record we find that this \*Crawford was sent thither in 1766, with a son got by him in 1761 out of a mare by the Virginia foundation sire Morton's \*Traveller; and that the Carolina evidence tells quite another story of Crawford's breeding, viz:

[1767, April 27, S. C. Gazette]

'The horse *Crawford*, full 15 hands and an half high, bred by the Duke of Cumberland, got by Lord Crawford's Arabian horse, will cover

this season at Mr. Thomas Hartley's plantation at twenty pounds [currency] a mare for the season. The aforesaid horse will be sold at public outcry at Mr. Nightingale's up the Path the 30th day of June next at four o'clock in the afternoon, to the highest bidder.

Benjamin Barra.'

[1767, April 27, S. C. Gazette]

'The fine horse *Traveller* (now 5 years old) will cover at Thomas Nightingale's on Charles-Town Neck, at only ten pounds [currency] a mare, and ten shillings to the servant, being the property of a gentleman, who does not reside in the province, and may not be here the next season. As he proved successful last year in getting colts, the same may be expected this.

'Traveller is a brown bay, 16 hands high, without any blemish whatever, well marked, well proportioned and acting, and the best calculated for a useful breed, either for saddle or carriage. He was bred by Col. Ruffin of Virginia, and got by his own horse Crawford, who was bred by the Duke of Cumberland and sent over at four years old; his dam by Mr. Morton's fine horse Traveller.

Thomas Nightingale.'

With the advertisement of 1767 \*Crawford disappeared, but Traveller was advertised again in 1768 & 1769.

From these records it appears that though \*Crawford was bred by 'the Duke', he was not by the Cumberland Arabian (alias Muley Ishmael, GSB, i, 393); but more credibly, as his name indicated, by that other contemporary 'foreign' horse known as the Crawford (or Stamford) Turk (GSB, i, 392) of which the best surviving description is in the following advertisement:

[Pond, 1751, p. 224]

'In the hands of Mr. Thomas Stamford [at Newmarket], a beautiful strong brown Turk, brought over by the late Earl of Crauford, fifteen hands high, free from all natural blemishes, and master of any weight, and as high a bred horse as any of his kind; he will cover at one guinea a mare, and a shilling the servant. He got Mr. Keck's mare [Aura, dam of \*Juniper, GSB, i, 24; Pick, i, 185], that beat eight horses, four heats, at Burford, for the Four Years old Plate, in 1749, which was the only one of his getting that was trained.'

(c) *Dandridge's Flagatruce*: The following advertisement is the sole known evidence for this Virginia bred horse:

[1767, March 10, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

'The fine horse Flagatruce will cover this season at the plantation of Mr. Peter Sinkler in St. Stephen's parish at twenty-five pounds each mare, and a dollar to the groom.

'Flagatruce is 16 hands and a half high, of a fine mahogany brown colour, got by [Baylor's] Sober John: his dam was [Dandridge's] Creeping Kate. Both their pedigrees are so well known, and they so truly famed for their performances, that nothing more need be said.

'And for a better proof of his blood and ability, the gentleman who brought him into the province will run him a single match against any horse, mare, or gelding now in the province, for Five hundred pounds; each horse carrying a certain weight to be agreed on between the parties. Any person inclined may inquire of the subscriber,

'St. Marks, February 28, 1767.

Richard Richardson'.

Irving (iii, 38) had this advertisement, but apparently did not recognise the breeding for he interpreted the 'brought into the province' as 'imported' in the connotation of brought from England; which suggests that Irving's other statement about this Flagatruce, that he 'ran well before 1767' likewise had its authority only in an interpretation of the advertisement. The colt has not been identified on the turf in Virginia where his sire and dam were both well known: nor does he appear in the Carolina Racing Calendar; his coat (brown) seems to distinguish him from the first Virginia horse noted in that Calendar (p. 116) on the Carolina turf, viz: 'Robert Weaver, Esqr's bay colt bred in Virginia, rising four', which was unplaced in the running for the George Town Plate in January, 1768.

The earliest Virginia bred horse recorded as a winner on the Carolina turf was Adam McDonald's Davy (*alias* Dainty Davy), who made his appearance in the Calendar in 1771 as 'Mr. McDonald's Virginia horse'; and won the Charles Town Plate in 1772 as 'Mr. Adam McDonald's bay horse Davy'. During the remainder of the year 1772 this Davy won 'many matches' and so was called a 'famous horse' when, in March 1773, he met (and was beaten by) the newly imported Flimnap. Nothing is known of his breeding or origin in Virginia.

It is unlikely that those who brought these pioneer Virginians to Carolina appreciated that they were inaugurating such a market for Virginia breeders as was realized during the seventeen eighties and nineties, when Virginia horses took possession of the Carolina turf and stud. The opportunity for

that market may fairly be credited to Colonel Banastre Tarleton; for during 1780 and 1781 that worthy had successfully stripped Carolina of her blood horses. In a single conspicuous raid in April, 1780, he captured at Monck's Corner, as he reported, no less than '400 horses belonging to [Gen. Isaac Huger's] officers and dragoons, with their arms and appointments' and it was then admitted by the Whigs that Tarleton had got in one net most of the blood horses in the State. Those who were able to preserve for transmission to posterity the ante-bellum turf stock were either Tories, like Edward Fenwick, jun., whose stud was always within the British lines immune from the counter raids of Marion and Harden, or those Whigs who sent their horses (like \*Flinnap) to Virginia. Certainly, after the evacuation of Charles Town by the British in 1782, there were few blood horses left in the State. On that point there is no better testimony than the distressing account Gen. William Moultrie left (McCrady, iv, 668) of his ride in 1782, on his return from exile, through the once prosperous horse-breeding 'parishes'.

Under these conditions, when racing was revived at Charleston in 1784 it was necessary to seek new blood stock; and that transplanted Virginian, William Washington, seems to have shown his new neighbours the way to the teeming Virginia studs, then in local distress by reason of the legislation against 'gaming' which their own post-revolutionary nonconformist legislature had perpetrated. One has only to glance through the advertisements of the Charleston newspapers of this period to appreciate how many Virginia horses were poured into Carolina; and how many Virginia horsemen came in person to 'spy out the land'.

In addition to the Virginia colts and fillies which appear in the Racing Calendar for these years, the following well known Virginia covering horses are shown to have migrated to Carolina between 1783 and 1790, to refresh the war depleted blood stock of that community, viz: Thornton's Voltaire & Brilliant;

Custis' Leonidas & Fayette;<sup>12</sup> George Baylor's Prisont & Marcus; McCarty's Cub & Telemachus; Brent's Driver; Sir Peyton Skipwith's Y. Figure & Y. Merry Tom; Burwell's Eclipse; Fitzhugh's True Whig; Tyler's Charlemagne. In 1785 Robert Goode's great Brimmer also was advertised for sale in Charleston, but in the event went elsewhere. Among the Virginia breeding mares which came with these horses perhaps the most notable was Lewis Burwell's Y. Camilla, acquired by Wade Hampton I.

Upon this foundation, and drawing in also new English blood, some from Virginia (i. e., \*Mexican and \*Obscurity, *q. v.*, pp. 217, 218; followed later, notably, by Hoomes' \*Stir-

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<sup>12</sup> *Washington's Mount Vernon stud in Carolina*: After the death of John Parke Custis the stud that young gentleman had built up was dispersed and his stepfather, George Washington, acquired and stood at Mount Vernon two of his horses which subsequently were sent to Carolina, viz:

*Custis' Leonidas*, b. c. 1777 (by Lloyd's Traveller: Morton's Traveller: Tasker's \*Selima), was bred by Edward Lloyd of Maryland and acquired as a colt by John Parke Custis, who advertised him in the stud in Virginia 1779 and 1780. After Custis' death his administrator, B. Dandridge, advertised Leonidas for sale (in 1782 and again in 1783), describing him in 1782 as five years old. During the season of 1783 the horse stood at Mount Vernon and was then purchased and taken to Carolina, where he was advertised by Richard Singleton.

*Washington's Magnolio*, ch. c. 1780 (by Lindsey's Arabian out of Governor Horatio Sharpe's, later successively Edward Lloyd's & John Parke Custis', Tulip by Tasker's, later Sharpe's, \*Othello: Leonidas' dam by Morton's \*Traveller: Tasker's \*Selima), was bred by John Parke Custis at Abingdon near Alexandria, Virginia, and was advertised for sale in 1782 and 1783 with Leonidas, being described in 1783 as three years old. George Washington then bought in the colt, raced him unsuccessfully at Alexandria, and advertised him to stand at Mount Vernon for the seasons of 1785-1788. [Bruce, ii, 433, following the transcript of the advertisement of 1785 in ATR, iii, 255, missed a point by attributing the ownership of Magnolio to Lund Washington, who then signed the bill.] John Hunter (*Diary*, West Virginia Historical Magazine, i, 60) says that at Mount Vernon in November, 1785, he was taken to see Magnolio and was told that 'a whole length of the General was taken a while ago (mounted on Magnolio) by a famous man from Europe on copper'. In December, 1788, Washington sold Magnolio to 'Light Horse' Harry Lee (for the circumstances see *The Belair Stud*, 1929, p. 91) when, according to later testimony by Thomas Peter of Georgetown (ATR, i, 353) the horse was sent to Carolina; but no Carolina evidence has come to light to check the fact.

For *Custis' Fayette* see p. 100.

ling, \*Spread Eagle and \*Bedford) and a steadily increasing supply direct from England, beginning with \*Royal Oak and \*Justice (*q. v.*, p. 215), the Carolina 'bred' stock was soon renewed and thus for two generations, or until Sherman's March, during another civil war, again stripped them, the Carolina turfmen were enabled to meet the Virginians on equal terms in those heroic contests of the first half of the nineteenth century which give colour to Irving's pages and remain memorable wherever American horsemen foregather.



4. *Mayrant's \*Skim and \*Dutchess:* The horse known on the Carolina turf as 'the invincible Skim' was imported in the autumn of 1760 by John Mayrant (1726-1767) of St. James, Santee, himself known as 'the Carolina Heber'; and was introduced to America by the following advertisement:

[1761, March 14, S. C. Gazette]

Now in the hands of William Bell at Mr. John Mayrant's plantation on Santee and will cover this season at twenty pounds [currency] the mare and 20s. to the groom, the horse Skim, full 15 hands one inch high, got by the Cullen Arabian, five years old this spring, and arrived in the province from England in November last . . .

William Bell.

No colt named Skim by the Cullen Arabian is listed among the get of that 'foreign' horse (Pick, i, 132), nor in GSB. The achievement of the \*Skim on the colonial turf in aged form suggests however that he must have been proved as a racer in England before he was exported. As he was 5 years old in 1761 we may therefore look for him among the sons of the Cullen Arabian of the crops of 1756 & 1757, which appeared on the English turf in 1760 & 1761. Heber (1760, p. 99; 1761, p. 109) records several such. All but one of them may however be identified in England after \*Skim had appeared in Carolina; but that one ('Ld. Sand's c. got by the Cullen Arabian'), remaining anonymous in England, may have been our colt, for he is recorded (Heber, 1761, pp. 7, 116, 134) as winning a Sweepstakes of 600 gns. at Newmarket (B. C.) in March, 1761 (i. e., the spring before \*Skim came to America) and then disappears. Unfortunately, there is no English record of the dam of that colt any more than there is an American record of the dam of \*Skim, and so we are left, perhaps happily, without a breeding (or even a coat) to match in support of our hypothesis.

Following his introduction in 1762, \*Skim was further advertised to stand in Carolina, as follows:

- 1763 'at Mr. Daniel Huger's plantation in St. Johns parish'.  
1764 No record.  
1765 'at Mr. Ainslie's until the middle of April, and the rest of the season at Mr. Williamson's' [on Stono].  
1766 No record.  
1767 at Mr. Ainslie's.

So far this record is that of any other imported horse of the period, but when we turn to the contemporary Racing Calendar we find that, in each of the years noted, Skim was trained before the breeding season, and on the turf gained his sobriquet 'invincible'. The following summary tells that story:

- 1762 Raced unsuccessfully, no detailed report.  
1763 Raced successfully at Georgetown and Beaufort, no detailed report.  
    Won the Charles Town Plate at New Market Course, beating Moultrie's \*Starling and others.  
    Matched for race with Fenwick's Babraham (by \*Brutus), no report.  
1764 Lost, by an accident, a match against Bellinger's Steady (by \*Brutus).  
1765 Won the Charles Town Plate at New Market Course, beating Elliott's (formerly Fenwick's) Babraham, Mayrant's \*Dutchess and others.  
1766 Declined a match with Lynch's Havannah (by \*Brutus).  
1767 Distanced for the Charles Town Plate, which was won by Wilkinson's Noble (by \*Brutus).

A pleasant testimony to the prowess of Skim is that in 1767 (when he was 11 years old) a horse named Goliah publicly challenged him to a match for 100 gns. with the characterization 'the *quondam* invincible Skim (*quantum mutatus ab illo*)'. It was perhaps under the spur of this taunt that Dr. Murray, then the owner of Skim, started him in his last race, for the Charles Town Plate of 1767. Although Skim was then beaten, the boasting Goliah did not himself appear, and so Dr. Murray was justified in describing Skim in his ensuing stud advertisement as '*nondum mutatus ab illo*'.

The most distinguished of the descendants of \*Skim in Carolina was the Romulus (by \*Flimnap out of a Skim mare, Bruce, i, 489) which was bred by Edward Fenwick, jun., in the John's Island Stud and raced in 1785 and 86 in the colours of Wade Hampton. Skim's blood was not, however, confined to Carolina. Several Skim mares found their way 'to the Northward', as did Singleton's Effingham, by Byrd's Valiant out of a Skim mare (See p. 173). In consequence of that migration there appear crosses of Mayrant's \*Skim in Virginia as well as N. Carolina pedigrees; but that record is complicated by the existence of what seems to have been another contemporary Skim in Virginia.

In the inventory (VM, xxi, 395) taken in November 1767 (the last year Mayrant's Skim was reported on the turf and in the stud in Carolina) of the estate of Philip Ludwell III (1716-1767) of Green Spring in Virginia, a number of horses were listed without identification of their breeding. Their familiar English turf names (Briton, Sterling, Skim & Chance) suggests that they may have been imported; but no evidence (except pedigrees) has come to light to support that hypothesis. The Ludwell Skim was evidently an old horse in 1767 (he was valued only at £30), but he may well have been the Skim noted in the breeding of the mare Latona (by Lightfoot's Partner: \*Jolly Roger: \*Skim: \*Barb mare) which belonged to John Verrell of Dinwiddie and was the grand dam of Gen. Andrew Jackson's Truxton (See AF, x, 62). Edgar argued that, considering Philip Ludwell's inherited relation with Carolina where his father had been sometime the proprietary governor, Ludwell's \*Skim must have been Mayrant's \*Skim. This is an attractive hypothesis, even if there is no evidence to support it, but unfortunately the Virginia and Carolina dates overlap, for Philip Ludwell died in England, where he had been throughout the career of Mayrant's Skim in America. The argument served Edgar's purpose, however, and, lacking the Carolina record of Mayrant's Skim, induced him (p. 56) to fly high in his claims for the imported horse. Not being em-

barrassed by knowledge of the Carolina evidence for Mayrant's Skim, he boldly identified that horse as the only Skim he found in GSB, viz: Lord Portmore's Skim (gr. c. 1746, by Bolton Starling: Miss Mayes by Bartlett's Childers, GSB, i, 134; Pick, i, 114). Although there is no scintilla of evidence, either from England, Virginia or Carolina, that that horse ever left England, Bruce (i, 50), *more suo*, here followed Edgar blindly and enrolled the Portmore Skim as imported; but as he also had before him Irving's brief notice (iii, 37) of Mayrant's \*Skim, Bruce (i, 50) cautiously entered that horse also. Both of Bruce's entries therefore seem to represent the same horse.

With Skim, John Mayrant imported also a yearling filly which was later known on the Carolina turf as Dutchess. There are two testimonies for her in the Racing Calendar which make up her entire record, viz:

- 1765 'Mr. Mayrant's mare Dutchess, rising 5, weight 7 st. 4 lb., which was four pounds extraordinary on account of her being total blood bred in England and came over with Skim'.
- 1766 'John Mayrant, Esqr. mare Dutchess, 5 years old, bought in England, full blooded, and the same that distanced Havannah last year after he had been twice run hard and met with an accident'.

This mare was not a success on the turf, and does not appear to have left any descendants. As an immediate consequence we know nothing of her breeding; and as a progressive consequence she is not entered in any stud book. She is significant today principally to those equine genealogists who seek new material on which to reopen the futile discussion of the 'Duchesses and Diamonds' of the Lexington pedigree.

5. *Moultrie's \*Starling*: Heber records that in October, 1756, at Newmarket, Ld. Rockingham matched a 'b. c. by Starling out of Amelia's Sister' against Lord Granby's unidentified b. c. and won; and at Black Hambleton in Yorkshire in August, 1757, Ld. Rockingham's b. h. Starling, 5 yrs. old, won the Gentleman's Second Subscription Race. This Starling was therefore the colt entered by GSB (i, 93) anonymously in the list of the produce of Ld. Rockingham's Godolphin Arabian mare (Sister to Amelia) as '1752 b. c. by Old Starling'.

In February, 1763, William Moultrie (1731-1805) of St. John's Parish in Carolina (later the successful defender of Sullivan's Island against Sir Peter Parker and Sir H. Clinton in 1776) entered an English horse Starling for the Charles Town Plate on the New Market Course and was beaten by Mayrant's \*Skim; and thereafter, in March, 1763, advertised this Starling in the stud, the first extant of a series of such advertisements extending to 1774, viz:

1763 at Mr. [William] Moultrie's plantation in St. John's parish.

1764 [No record]

1765 [No record]

1766 at Mr. [William] Moultrie's plantation in St. John's parish.

1767 at Mr. [William] Moultrie's plantation in St. John's parish and  
after April 13 at Mr. John Moultrie, jun's plantation in Goose  
Creek parish.

1768 at Mr. Moultrie jun's plantation in Goose Creek.

1769 at Mr. William Moultrie's plantation in St. John's parish.

1770-1774 at Mr. Parker's plantation, Goose Creek.

Neither in the Carolina Racing Calendar nor in any of the Moultrie advertisements (1763-1769) is Starling described as to breeding, coat or importation date; but in 1771, after the horse had passed into the possession of Mr. Parker, the advertisement is an explicit identification with Lord Rockingham's Starling mentioned above, by a breeding which checks with GSB, i, 93, viz:

[1771, March 5, S. C. & American General Gazette]

*Old Starling* imported from England some years since, late the property of William Moultrie, Esq., esteemed by the best judges the handsomest horse in the province, covers this season at Mr. Parker's plantation in Goose Creek at twenty-five pounds currency.

Starling was got by [the Bolton] Starling: his dam, by Godolphin Arabian, [was] own sister to Vernon's *Amelia*: his grandam by [Flying] Childers: his great grandam by True Blue: his g. g. grandam by Cypress: out of the Duke of Rutland's famous mare Bonny Black. . . . The above horse won a plate at York at four years old.

Irving (iii, 40) had the Starling advertisements 1767-72, but apparently not earlier or later. They sufficed, however, to enable Irving to record the horse's breeding; whence Bruce (i, 53) entered him in ASB, interpreting the date of importation as 1767.

There is in fact no record of the date of Starling's importation, though it is a fair deduction from the evidence cited above that it was 1761; that the horse came to America at the same time with Skim; and that an introductory advertisement (of 1762) is lost, with other material for that year. Perhaps also, if reports of the racing in 1762 had been published, we might have found Starling then establishing the reputation on the colonial turf which gave zest to his duel with Skim in the following season.

**6. *Wilkinson's Noble*:** This b. c. 1763, bred in the John's Island Stud and got by Fenwick's \*Brutus out of Fenwick's \*Squirt mare (Bruce, i, 39, erroneously enters him as imported), made his appearance on the turf as a three year old in the colours of Thomas Lynch of Santee (father of the 'Signer'), and thereafter raced as the property of Morton Wilkinson of Toogoodoo.

Of him Irving (iii, 37, 144) said:

'Noble was another very distinguished horse; he was, perhaps, the most successful native horse of his day. He was by Old Brutus, out of [Fenwick's] Squirt [mare]: g. dam by Starling: g. g. d. by Bethel's Arabian: g. g. g. d. by Champion: g. g. g. g. d. by Darley's Arabian, who was the sire of Flying Childers. Noble ran successfully up to the spring of 1767, proving himself possessed of great speed and endurance. The famous Centinel was of his day, *but they never met* (*sic*). This the owners of Noble were anxious to bring about. They followed him, therefore, from place to place for some time; at last they tendered a direct challenge to him or any other horse in the world, to run a match, four mile heats, over the New Market Course, near Charles Town, for one thousand guineas, weight for age; but, as the owners of Noble were particularly anxious to meet Centinel, they proposed that if he (Centinel) would accept the challenge, to give up seventeen pounds of the weight Noble had a right to from difference of age. Centinel had previously, on his arrival from England, offered to run against any horse in America, but did not think it prudent at this time, from one of those 'many ills that all flesh is heir to', to take up the gauntlet thus boldly thrown down by Noble.

'There is a tankard now in the possession of the Mathews family, which was won [Irving says elsewhere, p. 144, in 1767] by this horse from Gov. Morton [*sic*]. This was apparently a misprint; intended as a reference to Lord Charles Greville Montagu, who was the resident Governor in 1767], when owned by Col. Wilkinson [later] of the Continental Army. The tankard is a large and richly carved vessel of English manufacture. A member of the Mathews family, in reference to this subject, writes me word, 'that I am induced to think it was a match

race, from what my mother relates as well as from the circumstances of its having Gov. Morton's coat of arms engraved upon it. She seems to think that her grandfather, Col. Wilkinson, staked the tankard of his family plate against this of Gov. Morton.'

This warm and pleasant appreciation of a great colt was, unfortunately, marred (like Irving's often quoted statement that the first significant race in Carolina was the match in 1769 between \*Shadow and Drayton's Adolphus) by the fact that the historian did not have any record of the racing in 1768, and incomplete records for 1769; for it makes no mention of the two most interesting contests in which Noble engaged (See pp. 120, 124).

Including those years, Noble's notable turf record as reported in the contemporary newspapers was as follows:

1766, January	Thomas Lynch, Esqr.'s b. c. Noble, three years, walked over at Georgetown for the Colt's Plate.
1766, February	won the Colt's Plate at Charles Town.
1766, March	as 'Mr. Wilkinson's late Mr. Lynch's' won the Colt's Plate at Jacksonborough.
1767, February	won the Charles Town Plate.
1768, April	beaten by Centinel a match at Charles Town.
1769, January	beat W. H. Drayton's Adolphus (also by Brutus) a match at Charles Town.
1769, February	distanced for the Charles Town Plate, by being pulled.

Noble was advertised in the stud for the seasons of 1767 and 1769 to stand 'at Mr. Morton Wilkinson's plantation at Togodo'.



7. *Williamson's \*Cade*: This son of *Ld. Godolphin's Cade* (or, more likely, of *his* son *Crofts' Y. Cade*, *Pick*, i, 274) was introduced to *Carolina* by the two advertisements which follow, viz:

[1762, February 13, *S. C. Gazette*]

The fine horse *Cade*, just arrived from England, will cover a few mares this season. Any person chusing to send their mares may see the subscription [query, pedigree] in the hands of *Capt. Samuel Elliott* or by applying to me, at the plantation of *Mr. William Williamson* at *Stono*.

Thomas Cresswell [groom].

[1763, January 29, *S. C. Gazette*]

The fine English horse *Cade*, esteemed as handsome a horse as any in this province, rising five years old, and full fifteen hands high, will cover the ensuing season at thirty-five pounds each mare, and a dollar to the groom . . .

*Cade* was got by *Old Cade*, a son of *Lord Godolphin's Arabian*; his dam by *Mr. Hutton's famous Wormwood*; his grand dam by the *Godolphin Arabian*.

*Cade's* sister, belonging to *Mr. Duncombe*, won the Twelve hundred guineas at *New Market*, 24 March, 1761, beating six others; and in August following she won the *King's 100 guineas* at *Black-Hambleton* in *Yorkshire*, beating seven others.

*Cade's* brother, belonging to *Mr. Warren*, called *Sportsman*, won the *Jockies 100 guineas* at *New Market*, 16 April, 1761, beating nine others, each of which had won a *King's Plate* before; no horse being allowed to run for said plate unless they had won a *King's prize*. He also won the ninety pounds plate at *Huntington*, and fifty pounds at *Scarborough*, the same season.

*Old Cade's* colts won more plates and matches the above year than any horse's colts in England, which may be seen by any one who will look into *Heber*; which book, for the satisfaction of those who may chuse it, shall be left in the hands of *Mr. Nightingale*.

*N. B.* *Cade* covers at *Mr. Williamson's* plantation at *Stono*, near the road leading to *Ponpon*.

Thomas Cresswell [groom].

Thereafter there are extant advertisements for *Cade*, standing always at *Mr. Williamson's* on *Stono*, near *Rantowle's*

Bridge, for 1764, 1765, 1767 and 1769, after which season it was announced that the horse was to be 'carried to the Southward'. This must have meant Georgia, for there is no subsequent advertisement in Carolina. None of these advertisements adds anything to our knowledge of the horse except the fact that he had few bred mares. The evidence to that effect follows the turf success in 1766 of his daughter, Elliott's Kitty Fisher (named in recognition of the current fame of the Virginia Kitty Fisher by Ld. Godolphin's *Old Cade*, imported by Carter Braxton in 1759); i. e., the advertisement of \*Cade for 1767 rehearses that:

'the proprietor of the horse is determined to admit no mares but what are got by running horses from England . . . as the owner of the horse is desirous to give him a chance of proving himself a good stallion and which cannot be done while bad mares are admitted. This has been the case ever since the horse was imported; notwithstanding which the colts are allowed to be the handsomest in the province in general'.

In 1769 this stipulation was enforced by an offer of free service for twelve mares proven to have been

'got by either Pharaoh, Starling, Pam or Brutus'.

On this record of comparative failure, the memory of Williamson's \*Cade has had a curious history of promotion in Stud Book rank. Having been imported when he was rising 4 years old, the colt was too young to have been trained in England and so is not to be found in Heber. Irving (iii, 38) had, however, the advertisements and on them constructed a generally correct entry, including the specification that the dam of \*Cade was by Hutton's Wormwood, though he did note that the colt was 5 years old in 1762, a slip for 1763; but Bruce (i, 10) entered the colt

'Cade, h., foaled 1756 (*sic*), bred by Mr. Warren (*sic*), imported into S. Carolina 1762. By Old Cade [out of] Silvertail by Heneage's White-nose (*sic*). He stood at Mr. Williamson's in 1763, near Rantowle's Bridge, at £35'.

This is comprehensible only on the supposition that Bruce, knowing that Old Cade had died 1756, adjudged Williamson's certificate to be necessarily corrupt because of its claim that his Cade was 5 years old in 1763; that in consequence a critic might ignore also the specification of the dam 'by Mr. Hutton's famous Wormwood' and rely solely on the reference to 'Cade's brother'. Warren's Sportsman was a brother to Williamson's \*Cade only because they were both by the Godolphin Cade, but Sportsman's dam (Warren's Silvertail) was by Heneage's Whitenose, not by Hutton's Wormwood. The entry of Silvertail in the GSB of 1803 (p. 286) credited her with only six foals, none for 1756; but the later editions of GSB (*e. g.*, Fifth edition, i, 183) credited her with seven foals, including for 1756 a 'c. by Cade, sent to America in 1762'. This last entry was clearly intended to represent Williamson's \*Cade, and seems to be a repercussion from Bruce.

And so we remain without an identification of the dam of \*Cade. The reference to his 'Sister', Mr. Duncombe's Cade f., does not help, for the entries by Heber (1761, pp. 6, 57, 125) of her victories (correctly reported in the Carolina advertisement of 1763) do not include any record of her dam.

8. *Horry's \*Sprightly & \*Mask*: The earliest Carolina advertisement to testify specifically for the interest of merchants as distinguished from sporting planters in the importation of English horses, to which reference has been made (p. 57), was the following:

[1767, January 12, S. C. Gazette]

Mansell, Corbett & Co. have imported, in the ship Heathcott, Capt. Hooper, from London, for sale:

[1] A fine dark chesnut stallion called *Sportsman*, full fifteen hands one inch high, strong and boney, and free from all blemishes. He was got by a Son of Blaze, whose dam was got by Mr. Leeds's Second, a son of [Flying] Childers. Sportsman's dam by the Golden Ball [a son of Croft's Partner, bred by Cuthbert Routh. See Pick, i, 158]; his grand dam by a son of Lord Bedford's Arabian; and his great grand dam by Bay Bolton. The above is a true pedigree, as attested by Thomas Mytton, Esq., Breeder.

[2] Also the fine chesnut colt *Sprightly*, four years old. He was got by the above mentioned Sportsman; Sprightly's dam by Cartouch, and his grand dam by Old Cade. This is a true pedigree, as attested by William Parks, Breeder. N. B. The young horse Sprightly, won a plate at Ludlow, and came in second against seven at Salop.

These horses illustrate the vicissitudes of equine genealogy. Despite the noble crosses in their pedigrees, despite the fact that Sportsman was bred by the father of that remarkable 'Shropshire lad', 'Nimrods' hero John Mytton (1796-1834) of Halston, neither of these importations, sire nor son, achieved a place in the English Stud Book; and, what is more, the dams of both are equally lacking of immortality. The imported horses may, however, both be found in the Racing Calendar. Sportsman was probably the otherwise unidentified chestnut colt which ran a few times in 1761 and 1762 as Mr. Leeche's & Mr. Brooks', winning a Fifty (Heber, 1761, p. 14) in Cheshire in his Four year old form; and appearing again in 1765 (Heber, pp. 52, 85, 94) as the sire of Mr. Collins' Mandarin, ch. g. 4 yrs., which then won a Fifty at Shrewsbury. The same

source record bears out in part also the claim made in the Carolina advertisement of 1767 of an English turf record by the 'young horse'; for it is recorded (Heber, 1766, pp. 60, 120) that at Shrewsbury on September 9, 1766, Mr. Corbet's Sprightly, ch. c. 4 yrs., by Sportsman, started for a Fifty, was placed second among seven horses in the first heat, though 6th in the second; but there is no report at all of racing at the Salop Ludlow in that year.

'Sportsman and Sprightly were promptly placed by the importers. Who was the purchaser of Sportsman we do not know. He lived in America to be at least 24 years of age, but always in the 'back country'; being noted in 1777 at 'Mr. William Slitt's plantation near Orangeburgh'; and in 1784 at Knoxborough in Effingham county, Georgia. He thus had few 'bred' mares; and none of his get is recognisable on the turf.

The 'young horse' Sprightly was purchased by Daniel Horry of Santee, who started him for the Winyah Plate at Georgetown in January, 1768. On this occasion he failed, but in March of the same year on the New Market Course \*Sprightly beat Benjamin Huger's unidentified Crocus in a match for £300. There is no extant advertisement of Sprightly in the stud, a fact which suggests that he died early; and that deduction is enforced by the further fact that in 1771 we find Sprightly's owner advertising another English horse.

Mr. Horry's second venture (probably also the importation of a merchant, though of that there is no record) was introduced by the following advertisement:

[1771, March 28, S. C. Gazette]

'The English horse Mask will cover this season at Mr. Daniel Horry's plantation at Santee, for thirty-five pounds currency each mare. . . .

'Mask was got by Young Babraham, his dam by Old Cade, his grand-dam by Old Partner, his great grand-dam by Greyhound, his great great grand-dam by the Curwen Bay Barb, &c, &c.

Henry Snyder'.

There are similar advertisements of the same stand in 1772 and 1775.

No record is forthcoming of the age, coat, or breeder of this Mask, nor is his sire certainly identified among the several Y. Babrahams. His dam, the Cade mare, may have been the anonymous b. f. 1756 credited by GSB (i, 152) to Lord Rockingham, of which no produce is recorded by Weatherby. If this identification is justified, it follows that the dam of \*Mask was the only filly got by Cade out of that one of the Croft's Partner mares known as 'Sister to Meynell', which was a daughter of the distinguished Greyhound mare known as 'Sister to Sampson' (GSB, i, 96); but, what is more immediately interesting to American breeders, this identification makes out the dam of Horry's \*Mask to have been a uterine sister to the Regulus colt imported into Virginia in 1760 by John Ambler of Jamestown and known in pedigrees and the stud book as Burwell's \*Regulus.

There is no record of any get of Horry's \*Mask in the Carolina pedigrees.

9. *Elliott's \*Barrock Billy & \*Daffodil*: On September 27, 1756, John Holme of Carlisle, the eminent breeder from the stock of Crofts' Partner to whose stud so many American pedigrees may be traced, started in a Fifty at Doncaster a colt which Heber described as 'Barrock Billy, *gr.* c. 4 years'. This colt was placed third on the occasion of his start at Doncaster (Heber, 1756) and then, apparently, was put out of training, for there is no further record of him on the turf. Nor, so far as Heber's testimony goes, is there any English record of him in the stud. His memory survived, in England nevertheless, for he was duly entered by GSB (i, 187) among the produce of his dam, the 'Snake mare', being then described (as he was in the Carolina advertisement of 1765) as a '*ch.* c. 1753, by Cade'.

Nine years after the start at Doncaster the following advertisement was published in Carolina:

[1765, May 11, S. C. Gazette]

*Barrock-Billy*, a beautiful thorough-bred horse got by Cade, and his dam by the famous Old Partner; of a fine chestnut colour, full fifteen hands high, and master of 15 stone weight, will cover this season at Capt. Samuel Elliott's plantation, in Cane-Acres, St. Paul's, at five guineas each mare, and a dollar to the groom, without allowing a chance the next season gratis.

Richard Williams, groom.

This was followed by:

[1767, March 30, S. C. Gazette]

*Barrock-Billy*, full fifteen hands high, and master of fifteen stone, got by Old Cade, his dam by Easeby Snake, who was got by the remarkable Old Partner, covers this season, at Mr. William Ward Crosthwaite's plantation, near Courtatree-Ferry for five guineas each mare  
. . . .

Thereafter Barrock Billy passed through several other hands and was regularly advertised for the ensuing four years, his stands being:

1768            at the Hut, on Horse savannah.

1769-1771    at the plantation of Mr. Richard Bohun Baker on Ashley River.

It will be noted that the advertisement of 1765 dropped a generation in stating the pedigree, and that this omission was corrected by the advertisement of 1767. As so corrected, the pedigree was recorded by Irving (iii, 37). On that lead Bruce (i, 8) in turn entered the horse; his information being derived partly from Irving and partly from GSB, as appears from his following Irving's typographical error in spelling the name, and GSB in assigning the coat and foaling date. It was perhaps in consequence of Bruce's entry that the last (Fifth) edition of GSB describes Mr. Holme's Barrock Billy as 'sent to America'.

As will appear from the record of the Carolina advertisements of \*Barrock Billy, Samuel Elliott sold that horse after the season of 1765. The explanation was that he was then taking on another and younger English horse.

On October 11, 1764, Ld. Grosvenor started at Odiham for a Fifty a 'Bay c. Daffodil, 4 years old', which was unplaced, and so far as the English record goes was then put out of training. Heber (1764, pp. 69, 110) noting the failure, did not note the breeding, of the colt. His entry serves, however, to give us the foaling date and the coat of the horse, which next appeared in Carolina in the following advertisement:

[1766, April 8, S. C. Gazette]

To cover this season at Mr. Samuel Elliott's plantation, at Cane-Acre in St. Paul's Parish, the thoroughbred English horse Daffodil, at twenty-five pounds currency each mare, and a dollar to the groom.

N. B. The above mentioned horse was got by Locust [son of Pantons's Crab]: his dam by Old Regulus: his grand dam was own sister to Mr. Pantons's Widdrington mare, and got by Old Partner. This is signed as a true pedigree by Lord Grosvenor.

This was followed by notice of a stand at the same place in 1767, the advertisement then describing Daffodil only as 'a



thoroughbred horse', but the identification was to have another voucher. In February, 1768, Elliott's Daffodil (being then 8 years old) started for the Charles Town Plate on the New Market Course, and was beaten by two Brutus colts, Drayton's Partner and Cattell's (formerly T. Lynch's) Havannah. His failure even to do himself credit on this occasion was excused at the time by the breaking of his jockey's stirrup; but the start remains of significance, for the horse was then described as 'Samuel Elliott, Esq.'s bay horse Daffodil, bred by Lord Grosvenor'.

Daffodil is not in any Stud Book. Irving (iii, 41) had only the 1767 advertisement of him and so could only identify him as 'advertised as a thoroughbred horse'; in consequence of which Bruce omitted Daffodil from the official American roster.

Likewise there is no entry in GSB and, despite the pedigree, it remains a matter of interpretation to identify his dam. We have a fair start from the famous 'Widdrington mare' (*q. v. ante*, p. 71).

Crofts' Bay Bloody Buttocks is credited by GSB (i, 40) with 13 foals by Partner ranging from 1733 to 1747, including 6 fillies; of which that of 1735 was the ch. f. entered as 'Spinster (the Widdrington Mare)' but described by Pick (i, 62) as 'known to Sportsmen and Breeders by the name of Mr. Pantons Widdrington Mare.'

Of the five Partner fillies thus entitled to be called 'Sister to the Widdrington Mare' GSB (i, 151, 152) enters three by that designation, distinguishing them by their dates, viz: Bay Bloody Buttocks' foals of 1739, 1741 and 1744. The filly of 1744 (entered by Pick i, 357: ii, 11, as 'Miss Vernon's dam') is the only one of these shown by GSB to have been bred to Regulus: she being credited with two colts by him, at the beginning and the end of her career in the stud, viz: Sir John Moore's Clown b. c. 1749 and Mr. Bell's Denmark b. c. 1764. But, as the evidence is (Pick i, 484) that this mare belonged to Ld. Grosvenor when in 1757 she produced her Cade colt known as Ld. Grosvenor's Cadet, it is possible that she may

have produced for Ld. Grosvenor also an unrecorded filly by Regulus which became the dam of his Daffodil.

It appears from Heber that supplementing several conspicuous successes 'Rd. Grosvenor, Esq.' [succeeded as baronet 1755] and 'Sir Rd. Grosvenor' [created baron 1761] like other large breeders, had on the turf throughout the seventeen-fifties a succession of unsuccessful colts and fillies. Several of these are described in the Racing Calendars as 'by Regulus,' but few of them can now be otherwise identified.

**10. Drayton's \*Pharaoh:** This b. c. 1753 by Lord Chedworth's (later Gower's) Moses (GSB, i, 382; Pick, i, 357), son of Cole's Foxhunter, was entered by name among the produce of his dam, Ld. Gower's Godolphin-Arabian mare (GSB, i, 92), and his distinguished turf record in Ld. Gower's colours (1757-1761) was collected by Pick (i, 204). After his last appearance on the turf in England in October, 1761, being then in his ninth year, he was sent to Carolina where he was introduced by the following advertisements:

[1762, February 20, S. C. Gazette]

'*Pharaoh*, a horse of as high blood as any in England, just arrived in the [ship's name lost], Capt. Mitchell, will cover this season at Drayton-Hall near Ashley-Ferry at five guineas a mare.

John Fitzgerald [groom]'

[1762, November 6, S. C. Gazette]

The high bred horse *Pharaoh* will cover the ensuing season [1763] at Drayton-Hall, near Ashley-Ferry, at five guineas each mare, and for the satisfaction of gentlemen who chuse to send mares, the under-mentioned is his undoubted pedigree with an account of his performances, which is more than can be said of any horse ever yet imported into this province.

He was bred by Lord Gower, got by his own stallion called Moses [GSB, i, 382], and foaled 5th May, 1753. His dam was got by Lord Godolphin's Arabian: out of his Mixbury mare, who was got by Darley's Arabian: out of Sir Matthew Pearson's mare [by Wilkes' Old Hautboy] that was the dam of Terror: her grand dam by Lord Whar-ton's Old Snail: her great grand dam by [*sic*, read sister to] Burford Bull: out of a mare of Mr. Wilkinson's [of Layton, in Yorks]. Bull [GSB, i, 12] was got by Brimmer, and his dam was a Layton barb mare.

He [i. e., *Pharaoh*] is therefore full brother, on the mare's side, to Brutus and Tarquin, they being got by sons of the Godolphin Arabian, and he out of a daughter of the said Arabian. All sportsmen depend more on dams than horses, for racers and bottomed hunters.

*Pharaoh* when four years old [See Heber, 1757, pp. 77, 78], in the October meeting at New Market, beat the Duke of Devonshire's [Heber reads 'Bridgewater's'] Filly four miles for 40 guineas and 460 guineas;

Pharaoh carrying 8 stone 7 pounds and the filly 8 stone 4 pounds. Three days after, in the same meeting, he beat the Marquis of Rockingham's bay colt Blakes, got by Tartar, 2 miles for 200 guineas; Pharaoh carrying 9 stone, and Blakes 8 stone 7 pounds.

When six years old [See Heber, 1759, pp. 6, 12], at the April meeting at New Market, he beat his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's Rib, 4 miles for 1000 guineas, each carrying 9 stone. At the May meeting, in the same year, he beat Sir James Lowther's bay horse Whisk, 3 miles for 300 guineas, each carrying 8 stone 7 pounds.

When seven years old [See Heber, 1760, pp. 6, 9, 10, 53], at May meeting, he beat his Royal Highness's black horse Moro, four miles for 500 guineas, each carrying 8 stone 7 pounds. The same week he run with Lord March's Gaul'em, 4 miles over the Beacon for a considerable sum, but was beat, he giving Gaul'em 14 pounds. In the same year he started at Coventry for the Hunter's Plate carrying 10 stone 3 pounds against 4 others, and came in 1, 2, 2.

After which [See Heber, 1761, pp. 15, 52, 63, 83] Earl Gower sold him to a gentleman not much acquainted with the turf [i. e., Mr. Stroud], who travelled him about, and started him for plates [at Warwick, Northampton and Maidenhead]. He being not a very large horse, and his age obliging him to carry great weight, he was constantly beat; and at length [after starting at Maidenhead in October, 1761] sold to come to this province.

Moses, sire of Pharaoh, got a brown horse called Moses, who won the plate at Bedford for 4 and 5 years old, running against 10 other horses in 1758; and, the same year at October meeting at New Market, won a match for 200 guineas.

Thereafter for each successive season to and including that of 1771 Pharaoh was regularly advertised to stand at Drayton Hall; when, being in his nineteenth year, he was offered for sale with the following appreciation:

[1771, May 6, S. C. & American General Gazette]

All impartial judges allow him to have as fine a forehand as any horse, therefore a promising stallion to get racers. He is the sire to Benjamin Waring Esqr's colt Homespun, that won so hollow this and the last year, beating Shadow and others of high form.

It does not appear what became of Pharaoh after 1771. In 1778 the advertisement of his son Mellichamp's Fearnought (out of 'a fine Arabian imported at the same time') referred

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to him as 'the late noted Pharaoh'; but he seems to have died before 1775 for in that year and thereafter until 1779 Benjamin Waring advertised a Pharaoh 'by Old Pharaoh' out of a Skim mare, without the qualification 'Young'.

Waring's other Pharaoh colt, the Homespun (originally Orinoko) who made the reputation of his sire on the provincial turf 1770-72, was himself offered as a covering horse in extant advertisements 1775-1778, but nowhere is his dam identified.

11. *Huger's Prince*: The entry in the Racing Calendar for 1768 of 'Benjamin Garden's bl. c. 5 years (i. e., foaled 1763) by Prince' invites critical examination of the sources for the \*Prince which, with a point of interrogation, Bruce (i, 44) entered and described as 'imported, it is said, into South Carolina'.

In his list of English horses imported into Carolina before the Revolution Irving (iii, 38) notes:

*'Nonpareil*, a famous horse imported in 1762 [and] covered in the same year at Mr. Daniel Huger's plantation in St. John's parish at £20 currency.

'A b. h. called Prince, by Herod, bred by Lord Farnham out of Helen by Blank, foaled in 1773, was also covering subsequently at the same place'.

The source of this so far as concerns Nonpareil is an advertisement of February 27, 1762, of which Irving's note is a substantial transcript; but no contemporary evidence has come to light for the presence in Carolina of Lord Farnham's Prince, the horse, documented in GSB, i, 100, 65, and Pick, iii, 37, which on Irving's authority Bruce entered also in ASB.

On the other hand, the contemporary evidence is that Daniel Huger stood, contemporaneously with the \*Nonpareil, a Carolina bred Prince, which was obviously the one referred to in the Racing Calendar of 1768. At it happens, Irving is himself elsewhere the source for all we know of the breeding of that horse.

The contemporary evidence is the following advertisement:

[1762, February 27, S. C. Gazette]

'*Prince*, a horse well known in this province, will cover at Mr. Daniel Huger's plantation in St. John's parish at ten pounds each mare.

Jacob Bonhost (groom).'

In the following year (1763) Mr. Huger added to his advertisement that Mayrant's \*Skim was then to stand at his residence plantation in St. John's, a foot note, saying:

'Prince covers at Mr. David Guerrard's in the same parish near Strawberry, at ten pounds each mare'.

The next appearance on the record of this Prince is a note in the advertisement of 1793 of Quash's Coxcomb that the great grand dam of that horse (*q. v. post, s. v. Middleton's Abdallah*) was

'by Duke, a full brother to the noted old horse Prince'.

Still later, when Irving (iii, 35) was discussing the stud which Daniel Ravenel maintained during the seventeen sixties at 'Wantoot' in St. John's Parish and so in the neighborhood of the advertised stands of Huger's Prince, he described as one of the most distinguished of the Ravenel colts:

'*Foxhunter*, dropt 1767 out of Gray Pleasant, by Mr. Edward Harleston's bay horse Prince, *who was got by Mr. William Middleton's Spotless*'.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Prince which got Foxhunter in 1766 was the Prince advertised by Daniel Huger in 1762 and 1763; for Edward Harleston, to whom he was here attributed, was another neighbour of the same Goose Creek vicinity; and we may therefore deduce that Huger's Prince and the Duke of the Coxcomb pedigree were got by a Spotless owned by William Middleton, another Goose Creeker.

Here, however, we are at fault. There is no evidence forthcoming for the breeding of Spotless, whether imported or Carolina bred. He may, indeed, have been the 'old Middleton horse' which is at the taproot of the pedigree of John Drayton's Y. Pharaoh (by \*Pharaoh: \*Skim: Old Middleton horse) which was advertised to stand at Drayton Hall in 1779; but that is mere conjecture and gets us no further forward.

This enquiry as to Huger's Prince, like the notes (*ante*, p. 55) on the breeding of Coxcomb, serves to illustrate that among the English horses in Carolina which we have been discussing, there were *fortes ante Agamemnona*.

**12. Hume's \*Tartar:** The evidence that René Peyre of St. Stephen's stood an imported Tartar in 1770 serves to identify that horse with 'Mr. Pere's Tartar' which started for the Charles Town Plate in 1770.

Irving (iii, 39) had the following note:

'*Tartar*, an imported horse belonging to the estate of Robert Hume. He covered for several seasons at Goose Creek and was alive as late as (*sic*) the season of 1767'.

Because Irving's note gave no pedigree, Bruce, seldom exclusive of an imported horse for which he had a vestige of evidence (*e. g.*, Middleton's \*Lofty), did not enter this \*Tartar. His caution shows that his record was limited to Irving's note; for if he had had the source material he might not have been so reticent. What follows is therefore an argument to fill a gap in ASB.

The Carolina record begins with the advertisement which was Irving's source, viz:

[1767, March 16, S. C. Gazette]

'The fine English horse Tartar, belonging to the estate of Robert Hume, will cover this season at the estate's plantation, on Goose Creek, at three guineas each mare, and a dollar to the groom.

'The pedigree of the horse may be seen in my hands at the above plantation.

'Thomas Addison'.

This was followed by advertisements of various stands:

- 1767-1768 at the plantation of the estate of Robert Hume on Goose Creek.
- 1769-1770 at René Peyre's plantation in St. Stephen's parish within 8 miles of Moncks Corner.
- 1771-1773 at the plantation of Mr. John Gaillard in St. Stephen's parish.
- 1774-1778 no record.
- 1779 at the plantation of Mr. Benjamin Coachman, jun., near Dorchester.



It does not follow that because none of these advertisements recorded the breeding, that that breeding was negligible. The initial extant advertisement, that of 1767, has the appearance of the announcement of a horse which had been for some time in Carolina; not of such an introduction of a horse, newly imported, as customarily set out a pedigree. It will be noted also that the advertisement of 1767 offers to exhibit the pedigree, something which would not have been done unless that pedigree was an attraction to breeders; and there is assurance that it was a creditable pedigree also in the statement of the advertisement of 1779 that the \*Tartar

'is a full high bred English stallion brought over here by Robert Hume, Esq., deceased'.

In order to justify this argument it is not necessary to claim, after the manner of Edgar, that the Carolina Tartar was the first and greatest horse of that name to be found in GSB; for there is a record of at least one son of King Herod's sire (the Duke of Ancaster's Tartar, ch. h. 1743, bred by Edward Leedes of Yorkshire and got by Crofts' Partner out of Meliora by Fox) which bore his name and whose dates fit the requirements of the Carolina record; i. e., the colt known in the books as Wildman's Tartar (GSB, i, 134; Pick, i, 305). That Y. Tartar, b. c. 1758 by the Ancaster Tartar out of Thomas Meredith's Miss Meredith by Cade, had a modest but creditable turf career in 1762 and 1763 in the colours of Sir John Moore, when 'he got a misfortune, was put out of training'; and was sold on his first rate pedigree to William Wildman, the sporting 'butcher', known to fame by the ownership of O'Kelly's Eclipse. Heber has no advertisement or other note of this Tartar in the stud in England, and as Wildman was first and always a speculative horse dealer, from whose stable many horses came to America, it is not impossible that it was Wildman's Tartar which Mr. Hume brought to Carolina in (say) 1765 or 1766.

**13. Riddle's \*Childers:** The horse which started for the Charles Town Plate in February, 1770, under this name seems to have been the English horse described in the following advertisement:

[1768, January 22, S. C. & American General Gazette]

Just imported in the Brigantine Flora, Capt. William Manson, from Whitby in Yorkshire [and for sale]

*Young Childers*, an excellent fine stallion, dark brown, rising 5 years old, 15 hands 1 inch high; *being descendant* of the famous Childers, lately belonging to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. He is trained for the saddle, very governable and master of any weight.

As this description plainly indicates the horse to have been a Yorkshire 'cocktail' or half bred, he is here noted by way of further illustration of the difficulty, to which reference has been made *s. v.* \*Sportsman, in interpreting the horse pedigrees of the period immediately following the American Revolution, during which private papers were destroyed and tradition in such matters became refracted.

This \*Childers was apparently used for covering and eventually, by the process suggested, was by tradition promoted in rank until the following pedigree could be recorded in all good faith in an advertisement of 1790, viz:

'*Adonis* (br. c., 15 hands, age not stated) was got by the noted sire Old Crab [who was he?]: his dam by Matchless, the best bred son of the Godolphin Arabian: his grandam by the imported horse Childers, *son* of the Devonshire Flying Childers.'

14. *Middleton's \*Babraham, \*Lofty & Abdallah:* There is no extant evidence for the importation or breeding of 'John Ainsley's black English horse Lofty, aged' which started for the Charles Town Plate in February, 1771, but the next year the following advertisement was published by Arthur Middleton (1742-1787), the 'Signer', viz:

[1772, April 21, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

'Two English horses, Babraham, got by Babraham, and Lofty, got by Snap, will cover this season at Mr. A. Middleton's plantation upon Ashley River, each at twenty-five pounds a mare and a dollar to the groom.

The horses are as likely and as high-blooded as any in the province, and neither of them will cover the next season under five pounds sterling.

Isaac Wagget, groom.'

Thereafter these two horses were regularly advertised at stud: Babraham to and including 1779, and Lofty to and including 1781 (when, being in the hands of the British authorities, he was described as 'the property of the sequestered estate of Arthur Middleton, Esq.').

The two schedules are as follows:

*\*Babraham (by Rogers' Babraham)*

- 1772-1774 at Mr. A. Middleton's plantation on Ashley river.
- 1776-1777 at Mr. Henry Middleton's plantation at Goose Creek.
- 1778 'at Mr. Daniel Horry's plantation'.
- 1779 for sale, April 5, 'at Strickland's' (i. e., the New Market course).

*\*Lofty (by Snap)*

- 1772-1778 at Mr. A. Middleton's plantation upon Ashley river.
- 1778 (a second advertisement) 'at Mr. Fuller's plantation on Ashley river about a mile below the ferry'.
- 1781 at Spring Grove plantation.

In none of these advertisements following that of 1772 is there vouchsafed any statement of breeding of either of these horses, the nearest approach to such a record being the statement, in the offer of Babraham for sale in 1779, that he was

'a full high bred English stallion belonging to Mr. A. Middleton: his pedigree being so well known renders it unnecessary to add more'.

In this state of the record Irving (iii, 40) described the horses as:

'*Babraham*, a b. h. by Old Babraham; out of a Second mare: out of a mare by Starling, and

'*Lofty* by Snap, both imported horses covered in 1772 at Mr. Arthur Middleton's plantation on Ashley river.'

It does not appear whence Irving derived the breeding he here assigned to Middleton's \*Babraham, but there is no ground to question it as Irving had access to source material now otherwise lost, and that breeding checks with the GSB entry (i, 178) for Edward Leedes' Y. Babraham, b. c. 1760. This colt apparently had no turf record (See Pick, i, 320), but he was advertised in the stud in England from 1764-1768, viz:

[Heber, 1764, p. 145; 1765, p. 141; 1766, p. 174; 1767, p. 216; 1768, p. 199]

'To cover the following season at Milford, near Tadcaster, Yorkshire, at 3 gs. a mare and 5s. the servant, the Bay Horse called Young Babram. He is 16 hands high: he was got by Babram out of a daughter to Second'.

If we have thus traced Middleton's \*Babraham into the Leedes Stud, we may fairly deduce that \*Lofty also came thence to Carolina, and this gives us a clue to his breeding also. It will be noted from the GSB record that after the death of Rogers' Old Babraham in 1760 Edward Leedes bred his Second mare (the dam of his Y. Babraham, *supra*) to Vane's Lofty (son of the Godolphin Arabian) then standing in the Leedes Stud (Pick, i, 201) and that she produced to Lofty two fillies in 1762 and 1763. If any guess in the premises is permissible, it may be suggested that the \*Lofty (unrecorded by

GSB) was got by Snap from one of these Leedes' Lofty-fillies who were daughters of the dam of \*Babraham. A colt so bred might have been imported as a three year old in 1770 and thus have been 4 years old in 1771 when the \*Lofty raced at Charles Town. This suggestion has at least the merit of giving colour to the association of Arthur Middleton's two importations.

The Middleton stud sometime included also a Carolina bred colt known as Abdallah, which was notable in his get.

In the spring of 1762 two 'foreign' horses, purchased on speculation in Gibraltar by a sea captain trading in the Mediterranean, were landed in Carolina and advertised to stand in the vicinity of Port Royal. Of one of these, Hushang, described as bred in Persia out of a 'leopard coloured mare belonging to the governour of Balsira in Arabia', nothing further is recorded; but the other, a barb called Abdullah, had an extended floruit in Carolina of which the minimum limits are indicated by the two extant advertisements for him in the stud, viz:

1762 at Mr. Mullryne's plantation near Beaufort, Port Royal.

1767 at Mr. Thomas Hartley's plantation.

In the former, his introduction, he was described as:

'a fine high-blooded barb, got by a famous stallion belonging to the Emperor of Morocco, out of a grey mare the property of Muley Mustapha, King of Arzeyla, in West Barbary, who sold him to Gen. Crauford at Gibraltar'.

The \*Abdullah seems to have made what is called a 'sensation' among horsemen. Irving (iii, 35) recorded a tradition he had from Nicholas Harleston, an eye witness, that immediately after his arrival the horse was 'visited at his stables by all the admirers of horse flesh', who found him to be a superb animal '16 hands high'; and that when it was stated by the Barbary groom who attended him that he had never been backed, Mr. Frank Huger of Midway, 'the most magnificent horseman' in the province, was challenged to mount.

This he accordingly did with a bound and 'sitting like an equestrian statue unmoved, guided the astonished animal around the enclosure'. This good story loses nothing of its quality by the fact that Francis Huger (1751-1811), the youngest of five brothers distinguished in Revolutionary annals, was only eleven years of age when Abdullah came to Carolina.

Enough pedigrees survive with an identifiable cross by this \*Abdullah to have brought him to the attention of Bruce and so secured his entry in ASB (i, 142) even though the importation date there recorded is erroneous; but few of those pedigrees were really significant. There was, however, at least one instance in which Abdullah's blood seems to have reached a winner on the turf. The categorical evidence for the descent here suggested is lacking, but the surrounding circumstances point to \*Abdullah as the sire of the horse of the next succeeding equine generation known on the turf as Chance, and later, in the stud, as Middleton's Abdallah. The advertised stands of that Abdallah were as follows:

- 1776 & 1777 at Mr. Henry Middleton's plantation at Goose Creek.
- 1778 at Mr. Middleton's plantation on Ashley River.
- [1779 & 1780 probably at the John's Island Stud, the evidence being the advertisement by Edward Fenwick, jun., in 1780 offering his brood mares for sale with colts from Flimnap, Abdallah & Centinel].
- 1784 at Mr. Thomas Middleton's plantation at Goose Creek.

None of these advertisements vouchsafed any breeding; but considering those who stood him and the stud fee of £35 currency (then the standard for the best of the imported horses) he commanded, there can be no doubt that Middleton's Abdallah was 'bred'; and considering his name it is persuasive that he was a son of \*Abdullah out of one of the imported mares which Edward Fenwick sold in 1767; that he was called Abdallah in the stud in order to project an established stud reputation.

But whoever he was, Middleton's Abdallah was the sire of Quash's Coxcomb (See p. 55).

**15. Rutledge's \*Moro:** When, after the death of George II's second son, William Augustus (1721-1765), Duke of Cumberland ('Billy the Butcher' of Culloden, 'the Duke' of the turf, the 'Prince William' and 'Cumberland' of American geography) his extensive stud was dispersed, there were sold among others two yearling colts, one by Marsk, destined to be the most famous of English racehorses under the name of O'Kelly's Eclipse; the other, by 'the Duke's Moro', destined to make an undistinguished career in Carolina. Irving recorded a traditional anecdote which brings these two colts together. Whatever may be said of its historicity, the story is certainly *ben trovato*:

'The agent that imported Moro' he said (iii, 40) 'nearly succeeded in importing the celebrated Eclipse in his place. He looked at him and made an offer, which was rejected. A few days after, the owner of Eclipse [Mr. Wildman?] made some abatement in his terms, which would have been acceded to had not the American agent purchased Moro in the mean time'.

The colt so imported was described in his first American stud advertisement as follows:

[1769, February 9, S. C. Gazette]

'Moro [bl. c. 1764: he was described in his stud adv. 1770 as then rising 6 years old] was got by [the Duke of Cumberland's] Moro [bl. c. 1752, bred by John Holme of Carlisle and got by the Bolton Starling out of Brown Slipby; being the same horse which was beaten by \*Pharaoh at Newmarket in 1760]: his dam by Regulus: his grandam [Miss Thigh, GSB, i, 139] by Rib: his g. grandam [Grisewood's Lady Thigh] by Partner: his g. g. grandam by Greyhound: his g. g. g. grandam by the Curwen Bay Barb.

'Certified by

Barnard Smith.

*'Stud Groom to his late Royal Highness the Duke'.*

[The Regulus mare so identified as the dam of \*Moro is listed in GSB (i, 139) among the produce of Miss Thigh; but Weatherby had

no list of her own produce and so \*Moro is not in GSB. Bruce's entry of him (i, 38) was derived from Irving, supplemented by an erroneous foaling date and attribution of ownership.]

That the importer was Andrew Rutledge (1741?-1772), the fourth of the notable sons of the immigrant Irish physician Dr. John Rutledge, may be deduced from his signature to two advertisements offering the horse for sale, in 1769 and 1771; and that identification serves to elucidate the peculiarities in the handling of the horse, as shown by his surviving public record.

Andrew Rutledge was a merchant, not a sportsman. There is no record of him on the turf. That he imported Moro as a speculation, planning to farm him out, with an eye single to commercial profits, is apparent from the cautious documents which mark the first public appearance of the horse in Carolina.

Moro must have crossed the Atlantic as a four year old, for he was still rising five when he entered the arena of the colonial turf with a banter, viz:

[1769, January 5, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

'The owner of Moro, having repeatedly offered to run the said horse against any horse, mare or gelding, either in or out of the province, for one or two hundred guineas, and no person has thought proper to accept his challenge; he now, therefore, for the last time repeats the same, for any sum between one hundred and one thousand guineas, to run agreeable to rule, carrying weight for age, not less than four miles. If this public challenge is not accepted, so that the said horse can be put in order for running before the 1st of May, he will not give or take any other, unless such a sum shall be proposed to be run for, any time between the 1st of February and the 1st of May twelve months, as to make it worth while for Moro's owner to lose the next season of the said horse's covering.

'Notice will be given where Moro will cover; after which he will not run, but be kept entirely as a stallion.'

It appears that \*Centinel, then at the top of his turf career, answered this. The text of his reply is lacking, but the substance of what he had to say appears in Moro's replication, viz:



[1769, January 24, S. C. Gazette & Country Journal]

'Moro never having intended a challenge to Centinel or any other aged horse, to run a match of six miles, or the best of three four mile heats, thinks there does not require any further answer to an extraordinary advertisement of Centinel's pretending to do what was never above once or twice done in England by the first rate horses there; Moro being more moderate than to propose a thing of that kind, but has offered to run against Centinel the usual distance four year olds and aged horses do in England, which he refused, viz: a match of four miles this year for 300 guineas, Moro carrying 8 stone, and Centinel 10 stone, 10 pound (the difference in weight generally allowed between horses of those ages) and again the next year the best of three four mile heats, Moro carrying 9 stone, and Centinel 10 stone, 10 pounds for the like sum. Moro also begs leave to observe that the weights in Centinel's publication deprive him from running the six miles proposed, on an equitable footing with him, was he so ambitious as to pretend to it, as Centinel would have an experienced white rider, and Moro be obliged to carry a white lad or negro, not so skilled in that profession. But as Centinel is so desirous of running a match of six miles, if he will wait till next year, when Moro's bones will be better knit, he will carry a stone more than is now required, and will accept his challenge, to be run any time between the 10th of April and the 1st of May, 1770, though he will not pretend to say how either of them may come in at the post, it being an unusual distance, as has been already said.

'And as Moro's money may be equal to the sum proposed in the Sportsman's challenge, he thinks it would not be running on an equal footing against the horse that may be intended as his adversary, as by a bet of that kind, he will be prevented from the advantage of covering next season; but to shew he is not afraid of any horse that will run as is proposed, carrying weight for age, as follows, viz: 5 years old 9 stone, 6 years old 10 stone, and aged horses 10 stone 10 pounds, he will accept the Sportsman's challenge, if he will describe his horse's colour, age, and the name he is now called by, and fix it a match or heats, as he may choose, play or pay.

'An answer is expected in seven days, addressed to the printer, who will forward it to Moro's owner, as nothing further will be received after that time, but prepare himself for the approaching season for covering, and be kept for a stallion only.'

The contemporary opinion of Carolina sportsmen seems to have been that Moro had no intention of risking his reputation in the field; that his challenge was merely a commercial adver-

tisement to prepare for a season in the stud; not a sporting offer. At all events that was the judgment expressed with pleasant humor in an anonymous advertisement published (perhaps by John Gibbes, who was then handling Centinel) a few days after Moro's replication. Thereby a gelding named Veve, 13 hands 1 inch high, claiming to be 'lineally descended from the first Brutus', purported to banter both Centinel and Moro for 'any sum' and any distance, modestly stipulating only 'weight for inches'. Against Centinel, as being aged and in full vigor, Veve offered to run (as who should say from Dan to Beersheba, or from Lands End to John o'Groats), 'starting from Mr. Wright's Hard and coming in at the Vendue House on Georgetown Bay, *the ferries to be included*'; but to Moro, whose bones were 'not yet knit', Veve considerably limited the distance to nineteen miles 'to start from the town gates and run to Wasamaw road'.

No match on any terms being arranged for Moro, he was accordingly advertised in the stud for 1769 and each of the ensuing four years. His stands were:

1769 'at William Henry Drayton, Esq's plantation on the Horse Shoe.

1770 'at Benjamin Waring, Esq's plantation near Dorchester.

1771-1772 'at Thomas Ferguson, Esq's plantation at Spoon Savannah in St. Paul's Parish'.

Moro must have been sold in pursuance of Mr. Rutledge's advertisement of 1771; at all events in the last year of his importer's life but in the name of another, and less cautious, owner the horse, then in his eighth year, made his initial appearance on the turf. He started for the Charles Town Plate on the New-Market Course in February, 1772, as 'The estate of Mr. Thomas Gadsden's horse Moro, aged, carrying 10 stone' and was placed third to McDonald's Davy and Waring's Home-spun.

And there the record ends. Whether it was for want of natural parts or adequate handling, Moro must be written down a failure.

**16. *Waring's \*Friar*:** This b. c. 1759 by South (sire also of *\*Flinnap*) out of a Babraham mare, bred by Sir John Moore, is an interesting illustration of the vicissitudes of equine pedigrees. Although so unsuccessful during his three years on the turf (1763-65) that, despite Heber's (1763, p. 100) unqualified identification, Pick did not deem it necessary to enter him even in his list (i, 389) of the sons of South, he is nevertheless enrolled by name in GSB (i, 27); and in America his record begins with the following convincing testimony:

[1767, February 24, S. C. Gazette]

*Friar*, bred by Sir John Moore, will cover this season any number of mares not exceeding thirty, at £5 sterling each mare, and a dollar to the groom. Those gentlemen who are desirous of sending mares, may apply to James Postell, Esq., at Dorchester, or to Fenwick Bull, in Charles-Town.

[*Breeder's certificate*]

I certify that the bay horse called *Friar* was bred by me, and got by South, out of an own sister to Sir James Lowther's Babraham. He is six years old and no more.

John Moore.

South was got by *Regulus*, his dam by *Soreheels* out of Sir Ralph Milbank's famous *Makeless* mare. *Friar*'s dam was got by Old Babraham, his grand-dam by *Golden Ball*, great grand dam by the Hampton Court Childers out of *Sophonisba*.

N. B. He will cover at Thomas Boone, Esq's new plantation at Ponpon.

Beginning with this transatlantic appearance at the age of eight, *Friar* was regularly advertised in Carolina for eight more years, his recorded stands being as follows:

- 1767-68 at Thomas Boone, Esqr's new plantation at Pon-pon.
- 1769 at Mr. James Postell's plantation near Dorchester.
- 1770 at Mr. William Moultrie's plantation in St. John's parish.
- 1771-72 at Mr. James Ravenel's plantation in St. John's parish.

- 1773     at Mr. Benjamin Waring's plantation near Dorchester.  
1774     at Mr. John Waring's plantation, Beach Hill.

There is no evidence that Friar himself was ever started on the Carolina turf; nor does any of his get appear in the Racing Calendar before organized racing was suspended in 1774: but Friar survived at least until 1775 and several of his sons transmitted his blood to achieve distinction on the turf after the Revolution.

The chief of these were two colts raised by Benjamin Waring, got by Friar in 1770 and 1775 from matings with an otherwise unidentified 'high bred imported mare' owned by Mr. Waring. During the British occupation of Charles Town in 1781 the elder, Jesuit, then a prisoner of war, was advertised in the stud by the British Provost Marshal, being described as then 11 years old and as having been 'esteemed as fleet as any horse ever bred in this province'; and from 1783-1793 Mr. Waring himself and Gen. John McPherson after him advertised the younger, Cephalus, described in 1785 as then 9 years old.

This Cephalus b. c. 1776 was one of the horses which revived racing in Carolina immediately after the evacuation of the British in 1782. Although there is no Calendar to give the detail, it was said of him in April, 1783, that:

'He has lately won three matches, when his speed, strength and bottom has been sufficiently proved, and his pedigree is equal to any imported horse in the state'.

Thereafter it was Cephalus who got Wade Hampton's Columbian and Boxer, the nags which first brought fame to what was to be, through two generations, a noted racing stable; but the most successful son of Cephalus, the colt which established the fame of \*Friar, was Commerce (b. c. 1790 out of a mare got by \*Sweeper on Gen. McPherson's \*Busiris-mare), who raced brilliantly in the colours of Edward Fenwick, Jun., and later was stood both by him and by Richard Singleton of the High Hills of Santee.

**17. Bellinger's \*Royal Oak and \*Justice:** On February 6, 1784, John Wakefield, a Charleston merchant, advertised for sale, offering to exhibit pedigrees, 'two capital horses lately imported in the ship Lightning from London', thereby inaugurating the post-revolutionary resumption of importing horses. One of these 'capital horses' was advertised in the stud by name a few weeks later, as follows:

[1784, March 17, S. C. Gazette & Public Advertiser]

'Imported horse *Royal Oak*, bred by P. Wentworth, Esq., superior to any horse in this state for size, strength and beauty, and now in high order, will cover any time after the 10th of April, at John Bellinger's plantation near Ashpoo Ferry, at the moderate price of six guineas and a dollar to the groom'.

While neither here nor in the only other surviving advertisement of this horse, that for 1786 at the same stand, is the breeding specified, the reference to the breeder enables us to identify the horse as Wentworth's *Royal Oak*, ch. c. 1774, by Engineer (son of Sampson) out of a Tartar mare (GSB, i, 209). It was therefore the creditable career of this *Royal Oak* on the turf in England in the years 1778-1779 (Pick, ii, 37) which induced Mr. Bellinger to start him, once he was acclimated, although then rising twelve years of age, for the Charleston Plate in January, 1786. That this confidence was justified appears in the fact that although \**Royal Oak* was beaten by Quash's Coxcomb (by Middleton's Abdallah), he beat Hampton's Romulus (by \**Flinnap*). The only other surviving documentation for \**Royal Oak* are the Georgia advertisements (1792-1797) of his colts Priapus and Aeolus, whose pedigrees identify them as brothers, foaled 1786 and 1787, both out of Bellinger's New York mare by DeLancey's \**Wildair*; and, what is more interesting in our present enquiry, the reference to him in the advertisement of 1788 by Edward Fenwick, jun., of his intention to sell his brood mares which, he said:

'are now in foal by Mexican, *Royal Oak* and Young *Flinnap*'.

On these records \*Royal Oak is shown to have covered in Carolina during the three seasons, 1784-1787. That he died in that last year may be deduced from the fact that John Bellinger acquired in 1788 another English horse.

The other of the Wakefield importations of 1784 was

\*Justice, b. c. 1782, by Lord Grosvenor's Justice (son of Herod): out of Pratt's Miss Timms by Matchem. He is entered anonymously in GSB (i, 328) and is identified by a pedigree published in a Carolina stud advertisement (*Charleston City Gazette*, February 27, 1798). Being a youngster when he reached America, there is no further record of him until January 12, 1787, when he was started at the New-Market Course as 'Major Harleston's Justice, 4 yrs.' and won the Purse for colts of that age. Immediately thereafter (January 30) he was advertised for sale by John Walters Gibbs & Co., being then described as 'the imported horse Justice, as high blooded as was ever brought to America'; but he was not sold until the following year, after he had been advertised again (January, 1788) as 'that noted valuable horse Justice'. The purchaser in 1788 was Pierce Butler (1744-1822), the Irish immigrant to Carolina, a former officer in the British army, who became one of the first two U. S. Senators from that state. As noted in the Calendar, Major Butler started Justice for the Jockey Club Plate on January 12, 1788, when he was beaten by William Washington's Virginia horse Ranger. Because of his new owner's obligation to go to Philadelphia to sit in the Convention of 1788, which framed the Constitution of the United States, \*Justice was soon sold again; and the next record of him is as a stallion in John Bellinger's Stud, where, as shown by advertisements, he was active until after 1800.

In 1834 (ATR, vi, 634) James Ferguson recorded an interesting testimony to his potent influence on the blood stock of Carolina; and thus secured for \*Justice the entry in Bruce (i, 30) which, because of the casual lack of such information, was denied to his predecessor \*Royal Oak.

**18. Hyde's \*Mexican:** This son of Snap was imported into Virginia in the autumn of 1785 on speculation by Benjamin Hyde of Fredericksburg, the first of his several such importations, which included, the next year, a greater horse, Pigott's (later A. Spotswood's) Shark.

Mexican was bred by Lord Grosvenor, a br. b. c. 1775, got by Snap out of Matchem-Middleton (GSB, i, 132; Bruce, i, 37); and was on the turf in Lord Grosvenor's colours from 1778 to 1783. Pick (iii, 131) collected his record and described him as 'the last winner of Snap's get that started'.

His introduction to America was by the following Virginia advertisement:

[1786, March 1, VG or the Am. Advertiser]

'The noted [imported] horse Mexican, by Snap, will cover this season at the seat of Mann Page, Esq. (at Mansfield, near Fredericksburg); at 6 guineas a mare.

'Mexican is full 15 hands  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, a fine dark bay, rising 11 years old. For his pedigree and performance, refer to the Racing Calendars, which, on account of their length, will be published in hand bills'.

No record of Mexican for 1787 has come to light, but the statement in the advertisement of Edward Fenwick, jun., of 1788 that he then had colts of his own breeding by Mexican suggests that the horse had been sent to S. Carolina after the season of 1786 and stood in the John's Island Stud 1787. The remainder of his life history is vouched for by Carolina advertisements showing stands as follows:

1788 'at the seat of Col. William Thomson of Belville on the Congaree'.

1790-91 'at the plantation of Samuel Boykin, near Camden'.

**19. *Crockett's \*Obscurity:*** This son of O'Kelly's Eclipse, foaled 1776, was imported into Maryland in the autumn of 1784 on speculation by Messrs. B. & J. Crockett, merchants of Baltimore, and was introduced to America by the following advertisement:

[1785, March 1, Maryland Journal; ATR, iii, 255]

'*Obscurity*, imported from England last fall, by Messrs. Benjamin and John Crockett, stands this season at Harmony-Hall, about 12 miles from Baltimore-Town, and three miles from Dr. Lyon's and Samuel Owing's Mills, and will begin to cover on the 25th of March next, at Six Guineas a mare, and One Dollar to the groom.

'*Obscurity* is a dark chestnut, 15 hands three inches high, well proportioned, and equal in figure to any horse on the continent; was bred by Lord Milfort, got by Col. O'Kelly's Eclipse: his dam (which is own sister to Croney) by Careless: his grandam by Cullen Arabian: his great grandam by North-Country Diamond: great great grandam by a son of Sir John Harper's Barb: and out of the Old Child Mare, who was the dam of Lord Tracy's Whimsey, and great great grandam of Careless. This horse was six years old last grass; at four years old he won a match of 200 guineas, and a £50 plate. Eclipse, his sire, was never beat, and is now the first stallion in England. Careless, the sire of his dam, won nine King's Plates, and was never beat.

'February 24, 1785.

John Forman'.

Despite the breeding and the turf record recorded by this advertisement, *Obscurity* is not entered either in GSB or Pick; but Weatherby's *Calendar* supplies that lack of authority, for thence may be abstracted the following summary of the record of 'Ld. Milford's ch. c. *Obscurity* by Eclipse':

1781, Aug. 15 at Hereford won a Fifty for four year olds.

1782, May 1 at Burford, distanced for running on the wrong side of the post in a King's Plate for five year olds.

1782, May 2 at Burford, placed third in a Fifty.

1782, Aug. 14 at Hereford, won a Fifty.

1782, Sept. 10 at Lichfield, placed second in a King's Purse for five year olds.



The breeding on the dam's side, claimed by the Maryland advertisement of 1785, may also be tested in GSB, for the entry (i, 77) of Borlace Warren's Diamond mare (grandam of Obscurity) records his dam Camilla, b. f. 1747, by the Cullen Arabian, and notes that she produced:

'1767, b. c. *Croney* by *Careless*; and also *Sister to Croney* who, in Sir C. Sedley's stud, bred in 1774 *Knight Errant* by Goldfinder'.

The American evidence for Obscurity shows him to have stood successively in Maryland, Virginia and S. Carolina, as follows:

1785-1786 at Harmony Hall, near Owing's Mills, twelve miles from Baltimore-Town [Maryland].

1786 Sept. for sale by B. & J. Crockett.

1787-1788 no record [which is unfortunate as these years are significant in the life history of Delancey's Old Slamerkin (Bruce, ii, 31; *Thoroughbred Record*, 8 November, 1930)].

1789 at the plantation of James French, 'Chalmeria' on Namozeen in Dinwiddie county [Virginia].

1790 for sale by William McWhann in Charleston, and stood 'at the plantation of R. Lithgow, near Columbia', S. C.

1791 at Robert Miles' plantation, Horse Savannah [S. Carolina].

1792 at Gillon's Retreat on the Congaree River at the mouth of Beaver Creek [S. Carolina].

1794 at Col. Wade Hampton's plantation on Gill's Creek [S. Carolina].

In this last Carolina advertisement Col. Hampton says of Obscurity:

'As a number of advantageous offers have been made for this horse by different gentlemen in Virginia, it is probable that he will never stand another season in this state [South Carolina]; they having had an opportunity of seeing his colts tried wish to have him back again'.

There is, however, no evidence that Obscurity did return to Virginia.

20. *The Charles Town Plate, 1763-1773.*

The first South Carolina Jockey Club was organized in 1758, to hold a meeting at the New Market course at Charles Town in February of each year; at which should be contested, with matches, etc., two Stakes, the Charles Town Plate and a Colt's Plate. The earliest extant report of results was for 1763; after which year the records are continuous to and including 1773, when racing was suspended pending the American Revolution. During this decade, as again after the war, the Charles Town Plate was the 'blue Ribband of the Turf' in Carolina, and the winners were as follows:

- 1763 D. Huger's [originally Mayrant's] *\*Skim*, aged, by the Cullen Arabian.
- 1764 C. Elliott's *Babraham* (bred by E. Fenwick), five years old, by *\*Brutus*.
- 1765 Dr. Murray's [originally Mayrant's] *\*Skim*, aged, by the Cullen Arabian.
- 1766 T. Lynch's *Havannah*, 3 years old, by *\*Brutus*.
- 1767 M. Wilkinson's *Noble* (bred by E. Fenwick), 4 years old, by *\*Brutus*.
- 1768 W. H. Drayton's *Partner* (bred by E. Fenwick), 4 years old, by *\*Brutus*.
- 1769 W. Alston's [originally J. Atchison's] *Tryal*, 5 years old, by Williamson's *\*Cade*.
- 1770 E. Fenwick's *\*Shadow*, aged, by Rogers' *Babraham*.
- 1771 B. Waring's *Homespun*, 3 years old, by Drayton's *\*Pharaoh*.
- 1772 A. McDonald's *Davy* (a Virginia colt, breeding not recorded).
- 1773 T. Sumter's mare (breeding not recorded).

It will be noted that of the eleven races recorded, four were won by Carolina bred colts got by Fenwick's *\*Brutus*, three by imported English horses, one each by colts got by Williamson's *\*Cade* and Drayton's *\*Pharaoh*, and two by racers whose breeding was not specified.

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[Adair] *History of the American Indians*, by James Adair (1709-1783), London, 1775.

[AF & ATR] *The American Farmer* (1819-1829) & *The American Turf Register* (1829-1835), newspapers edited by J. S. Skinner, Baltimore.

These periodicals were the earliest American organs for the record and criticism of horse pedigrees; and remain source books of the first importance. To them may be traced the generally adequate Stud Book records of the early nineteenth century horses in South Carolina.

[A&WI] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series; America & West Indies*, preserved in H. M. Public Record Office and edited by various hands, London, 1860 ff.

These invaluable keys to the English political sources for American colonial history, still in a leisurely process of publication, now (1931) cover the years 1574-1708.

[Archdale] See Salley.

[Bruce] *The American Stud Book*, by Sanders D. Bruce, 6 vols., Chicago & New York, 1868-1894.

Originally a private venture, this Stud Book was in 1896 acquired and adopted as 'official' by The [New York] Jockey Club, which has since continued its pedigree records. On the precedent of GSB a revision of the earlier 'historical' volumes of Bruce has long been indicated.

Bruce's record of Carolina horses in the eighteenth century is inadequate. Apart from the large gaps in his record, his interpretations of his sources (Edgar & Irving) were often unhappy.

[Bartram] *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the*

*Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy and the Country of the Choctaws*, by William Bartram (1739-1823), Philadelphia, 1791.

[Cheny, Pond, Heber & Weatherby] *Racing Calendars* [See *The History of the Racing Calendar and Stud Book*, by C. M. Prior, London, 1926], London, 1727, to date.

This long series of neat little annuals, the familiar companions of the horseman for more than two centuries, are the contemporary sources for the history of the English horse, both in England and America.

[Crane] *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, by Verner W. Crane of Brown University, Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1928.

This is a modern Ph. D. book of research, in form one of the legacies of the years our elder academic historians spent at German universities; but one of the best of the American books of that arid school. By the use of the French and Spanish archives, now available, Dr. Crane has let in a flood of light upon the obscurities of the English record on which the previous local histories have been based; particularly, the large significance of the early explorations into the interior by the Charles Town traders is here, for the first time, justly appreciated.

[Davis] *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America during 1798-1802*, by John Davis. Edited by A. J. Morrison, New York, 1909.

[DNB] *The Dictionary of National Biography from the earliest times to 1900*, Sixty-three vols., London, 1895-1900.

[Edgar] *The American Race-turf Register, Sportsman's Herald and General Stud Book*, by Patrick Nisbett Edgar, of Granville County, North Carolina, 'in Two Vols.' Vol. One [no other published] New York, 1833.

This early essay to provide an American Stud Book is full of undigested material, which is of value if used with discretion. Thus, as to early Carolina horses, Edgar had traditions, nowhere else recorded,

which he derived from correspondence with O'Brien Smith of Ashepoo, and other figures on the Carolina turf in the generation after 1800.

[*Fenwick genealogy*] The three documents, which were the starting point of the present discussion of the generations of this family, are: (a) for England: the elaborate pedigree charts in the *History of Northumberland*, by John Hodgson, vicar of Whelpington (Newcastle on Tyne, 1832); (b) for the links between England and America: The genealogical letter of 1726, printed in the Appendix to *The Life of Commodore Tattnall*, by C. C. Jones (Savannah, Ga., 1878); and (c) for Carolina, *An Account of the Tattnall and Fenwick Families in South Carolina*, by D. E. Huger Smith, 1913, SCHM, xiv, 3. These authorities have been extended in time and space from the English wills, South Carolina newspapers, etc.

[Frank Forester] *Horse and Horsemanship in the United States*, by 'Frank Forester' [Henry William Herbert], 2 vols., New York, 1857.

For all its prejudices, this is still the most useful 'item' of the lengthening library of books on the American horse.

[Fraser] *Reminiscences of Charleston*, by Charles Fraser, Charleston, 1854.

[GSB] *The General Stud Book*, ed. Weatherby, 25 vols. in various editions [See *The History of the Racing Calendar and Stud Book*, by C. M. Prior, London, 1926], London, 1791 ff.

The *livre d'or* of the English horse, because it has the *imprimatur* of The [English] Jockey Club, is based on the Racing Calendars and many private stud books; but is still undergoing necessary revision as new material becomes available.

[Hazard] See Narragansett pacer.

[Heber] See Cheny.

[Hodgson] See Fenwick genealogy.

[Irving] *History of the Turf in South Carolina*, by John B. Irving (1800-1881), Charleston, 1857.

The papers of which this pleasant book is made up were first published in 1843, periodically in *The Rambler* and thence transcribed into *The Spirit of the Times* (xiii, 439 ff.); being later collected in this volume. Because Dr. Irving did not put his name on the title page, while the 'Preliminary Remarks' were signed by E. P. Milliken, Secretary of the South Carolina Jockey Club, the book is sometimes cited as 'Milliken'.

[Johnson] *Traditions and Reminiscences chiefly of the American Revolution in the South, including Biographical Sketches, Incidents and Anecdotes*, by Joseph Johnson, M. D., Charleston, 1851.

[Lewis & Clark] *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River* [1803-1806]. Three vols.: London, 1815.

See also Elliott Couës' critical edition, Four vols.: Philadelphia, 1893; and the *Original Journals Lewis & Clark Expedition*, ed. R. G. Thwaites, Eight vols., 1904-05.

[Logan] *History of the Upper Country of South Carolina*, by John Henry Logan (1822-1885), Charleston, 1859.

A book racy of the strong red soil it describes, and still of value although documents have contradicted it in detail.

[Loyalist Memorials] The source material for the 'Tories' of the American Revolution, herein drawn upon in respect of the Fenwicks and Stuarts of Carolina, are the records made by the Royal Commission appointed under the Act of Parliament of 1783 (28 George III, c. 44) to adjudge the compensation to be allowed this unhappy group of expatriated Americans for loss of their American property as a consequence of their loyalty.

The proceedings of this commission are rehearsed generally in Eardley-Wilmot: *Historical View of the Commission for . . . Claims of the American Loyalists*, London, 1815, and *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists*, ed. Egerton, Oxford, 1915; but details as to individuals must be sought in the long series of MS. transcripts of the testimony considered, now available in the New York Public Library.

[McCrary] *The History of South Carolina*, by Edward McCrary, Four vols., New York, 1899-1902.

This monumental work, a steady exploration of the forest without neglecting the trees, informed by a sound and often unprejudiced philosophy, is, too, an indispensable digest of all the source material available when it was written. The indexes alone make it priceless alike to the student who seeks information and the specialist who seeks what his criticism may devour.

[McSparran] See Narragansett pacer.

[Milliken] See Irving.

[*Narragansett pacer*] The familiar literary sources for this horse have been (a) James McSparran (1680-1757): *America Dissected*, Dublin, 1752: a pamphlet by the Irish parson of the first Episcopal church in Rhode Island, written as a warning against immigration to America, and reprinted (with notes on the Narragansett Pacer, based on the memories and family tradition of I. T. Hazard of R. I.) in Wilkins Updike; *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island*, New York, 1847; (b) J. Fenimore Cooper: A foot note in *The Last of the Mohicans, a narrative of 1757*, Philadelphia, 1826; (c) John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia & Pennsylvania*, 1830; *Annals of New York*, 1832.

These testimonies were collected, quoted and discussed by 'Frank Forester', ii, 67; by Wallace, chap. xiv, pp. 172 ff; and, with some additions, by Deane Phillips: *Horse Raising in Colonial New England*, being Memoir 54 (1922) of the Agricultural Experiment Station of Cornell University.

[Newe] See Salley.

[*Newspapers*] The files of the several Charles Town (after 1783 Charleston) newspapers cited in the text, as well as their successors, have fortunately been preserved practically intact from 1732 to the present day; and are available to students in the library of the Charleston Library Society, founded 1748 and 'still going strong'. For scattered files elsewhere see *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, Part XVI, South Carolina, by Clarence S. Brigham in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1924.

[Phillips] See Narragansett pacer.

[Pick] *The Turf Register*, vols. One and Two, by William Pick, York, 1803 & 1805; vols. Three and Four, by R. Johnson, York, 1822 & 1867.

This convenient manual is a digest of the racing form of the eighteenth century horses, based on the Racing Calendars; and so supplements GSB, which is limited to a criticism of pedigrees.

[Pond] See Cheny.

[PCC] This is the symbol of the priceless store of English wills proved from 1384-1858 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; which, since the extinguishment of that court, have been available for research in the Probate Registry, Somerset House, London.

The records of the wills of each year are collected in a Register consisting of one or more volumes, designated by the surname of a testator. A schedule and index of such names, with the dates of the Registers they identify, may be conveniently consulted in H. F. Waters' *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (Boston, 1901), i, 570.

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[Quincy] *Journal of a Sojourn in Carolina in 1773*, by Josiah Quincy, jr. (1744-1775) of Boston. See *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, jr.*, by his son, Boston, 1825.

[Ramsay] *History of South Carolina from its Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*, by David Ramsay, M. D. (1749-1815), Two vols., Charleston, 1809.

The present value of this entertaining book lies in the second volume, in which (says McCrady) is collected 'much valuable information in regard to medical, legal, fiscal, agricultural and commercial affairs, of the arts, of natural history and of literature'.

[Ravenel] *Charleston, the Place and the People*, by Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, New York, 1907.

A truly delightful book, worthy of its subject.

[Sabine] *The American Loyalists*, by Lorenzo Sabine, Boston, 1847 & 1864.

[Salley] *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, ed. A. S. Salley, jr., Secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, New York, 1911.

In the generous collection of significant early source material, here conveniently made available, annotated and indexed, are included the narratives (cited in the text) by Robert Sandford (1666), Henry Woodward (1672), Samuel Wilson (1682), Thomas Newe (1682), and John Archdale (1707).

Mr. Salley, the able and learned editor also of the Journals of the Grand Council and of the Commons House of Assembly which have been also here drawn upon, is, more than all that, a walking index to the history of South Carolina, and cheerfully gives his invaluable aid to all serious students. The present editor has had several occasions to acknowledge a personal obligation to him.

[Sandford] See Salley.

[Siebert] *Loyalists in East Florida*, by Wilbur H. Siebert, Publications Florida Historical Society, No. 9, 1929.

[SCHM] *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, published quarterly by the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C., 1900 ff.

[Statutes] *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, edited by Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, Columbia, 1836-1841.

The convenience of the use of these books should not deter the historical student from pursuing his material into the Session Laws, because, like all 'revisers' these editors abridged mercilessly what they deemed legally out of date.

[Wallace] *The Horse of America*, by John F. Wallace, New York, 1897.

A standard historical authority, though fallible by reason of prejudice.

[Watson] See Narragansett pacer.

[Weatherby] See Cheny & GSB.

[Wilson] See Salley.

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